PREVENTIVE TREATMENT OF NEGLECTED CHILDREN

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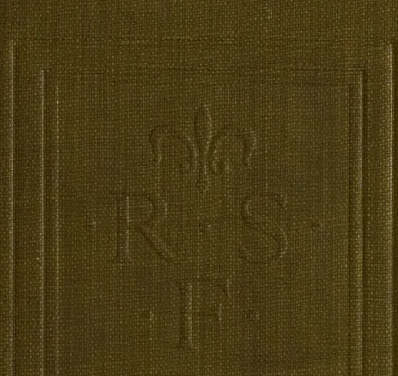

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PREVENTIVE TREATMENT OF NEGLECTED CHILDREN

By
HASTINGS H. HART, LL.D.
DIRECTOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CHILD-HELPING OF THE
RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

WITH SPECIAL PAPERS BY LEADING
AUTHORITIES

CORRECTION AND PREVENTION

FOUR VOLUMES PREPARED FOR THE
EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL PRISON CONGRESS

NEW YORK
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PREFACE

It is fitting that this fourth volume of the memorial series presented to the International Prison Congress should be devoted to the subject of Preventive Treatment of Neglected Children. The International Prison Congress has always devoted much of its time to the study of the child, and its founder, the late Dr. E. C. Wines, most fittingly coupled the treatment of the adult criminal and the neglected child in his great book, The State of Prisons and Child-Saving Institutions. This volume is designed especially to furnish reliable information to the delegates in attendance upon the International Prison Congress with reference to the progress of work for neglected children in the United States. The subject is studied in its concrete form, and the effort is made to give a comprehensive view of what is being undertaken in the United States for the prevention of juvenile delinquency, and, thereby, of adult delinquency. Limitations of space have prevented detailed discussion of the work of the more than one thousand institutions which deal with neglected children. About one hundred child-helping societies, however, of which no complete enumeration has previously been made, are discussed with some detail.

The study in Part Three, relating to Cottage and Congregate Institutions, has been made by the Child-Helping Department of the Russell Sage Foundation, for the special benefit of boards of trustees who are contemplating the building of new institutions for children or the re-organization of old ones. It is accompanied by plans for a children's cottage with outside sleeping porches designed by the author and executed by Robert W. Gardner, Architect, of New York City. Part Three, together with additional details respecting those institutions, has been printed as a separate pamphlet.

A Summary of the Juvenile Court Laws of the United States, accompanied by a Classified Abstract, together with the Monroe County Juvenile Court Law, has been printed in book form. This, and the pamphlet on Cottage and Congregate Institutions, can be obtained from the Charities Publication Committee, 105 East 22d Street, New York.

The chapter on Schools for Delinquent Girls, in Part One, was written jointly by Miss Mary W. Dewson of Boston and the author.

The chapter on the George Junior Republic was written by Mr. Frederick W. Almy of Buffalo.

In Part Four, the introductory chapter on The Full Measure of Responsibility in Child-Helping Work was written by Mr. William H. Pear of Boston, and the chapter on Societies for Prevention of Cruelty to Children was written by Dr. Roswell C. McCrea of the New York School of Philanthropy.

In Part Six, on Juvenile Courts and Probation, only chapter XVII was written by the author. The remaining six chapters were written by Bernard Flexner, Esq., of Louisville, Judge Julian W. Mack of Chicago, Judge Harvey H. Baker of the Boston Juvenile Court, Judge Franklin Chase Hoyt of the New York Children's Court, Henry W. Thurston of Chicago and Homer Folks of New York. The articles of Mr. Flexner, Judge Baker, Mr. Thurston and Mr. Folks, with most of the accompanying illustration in Part Six, are printed by courtesy of *The Survey*.

The Appendix is the Monroe County Juvenile Court Law, applicable to the City of Rochester, New York, enacted by the Legislature of 1910. This act was drawn by leading jurists of Monroe County with the assistance of Bernard Flexner, Esq., of Louisville, Kentucky.

The courtesy of many superintendents and secretaries of children's institutions and societies who have furnished assistance, information, and illustrations is hereby acknowledged.

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INTRODUCTION

IT is the purpose of this volume to set forth in outline the preventive and reformative measures and institutions which have grown up in the United States to check the growing tide of juvenile delinquency.

These agencies have come into being not as the result of a deliberate and consistent plan, but through a process of natural evolution, which is still in progress and far from complete. This evolution may be considered chronologically or logically. Chronologically, it suggests the old theological formula: "That which is first in intention is last in execution." Those preventive influences which go back farthest into the springs of pauperism, vice and crime are only now finding expression in the study of physical, temperamental and hereditary causes, and in measures to anticipate by generations the causes which tend to produce the delinquent child and the adult criminal.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Chronologically, the evolution of the preventive care of children in the United States may be outlined as follows:

1660 Legislation in Massachusetts providing for the apprenticing of orphans and homeless children to reputable citizens, in order that they might be trained in some productive industry. In this legislation the relation of master and servant was made prominent, and there was a lack of safeguards to protect the rights and interests of the apprenticed children. But thousands of waifs and orphans found entrance to good family homes, and grew up to be useful, self-supporting citizens.

1729 Organization of the Ursuline Orphanage at New Orleans; the oldest orphan asylum in the United States. This was the pioneer of the orphan asylums of the United States, which at the present time shelter nearly 100,000 children, while probably at least a million children have received their fostering care.

1790 Establishment of the Charleston Orphan House at Charleston, South Carolina; the first institution in America maintained at public expense for dependent children.

1824 Organization of the New York House of Refuge; the first juvenile reformatory in the United States, and the first institution in the United States in which the time sentence was discarded and children were placed under the guardianship of the board of managers during their minority.

The original law provided: "That the said managers shall have power in their discretion to receive and take into the House of Refuge to be established by them, all such children as shall be taken up or committed"; and also, "The said managers shall have power to place the said children committed to their care during the minority of such children."

This legislation was the beginning of the indeterminate or indefinite sentence in the United States, and the New York House of Refuge became the forerunner both of the juvenile reformatory and the reformatory for adults.

1847 Establishment of the Massachusetts State Reform School, at Westboro; the first state reformatory for juveniles.

1848 Establishment of the Massachusetts School for Idiotic and Feeble-Minded Youth. This was the first institution in America for the care of feeble-minded children, and marks the beginning of the attempt to preserve them from becoming vagrants, drunkards and delinquents.

1853 Organization of the New York Children's Aid Society; the first children's aid society, marking a new departure in the organized use of the family home as a substitute for institutional care for dependent and neglected children. Many orphan asylums had placed children in family homes, but the work had not been systematized or organized. Charles Loring Brace adopted the plan of sending children into family homes with little or no preliminary institutional care; and he became the pioneer of the placing-out system of caring for children in family homes.

1854 Establishment of the Ohio State Reform School, at Lancaster (now the Ohio State Industrial School). The Ohio State Reform School was the original cottage institution for delinquent boys, and may be considered the pioneer of the modern juvenile reformatories. Under its first superintendent, Dr. G. E. Howe, it developed the methods of individual treatment, practical training and sympathetic insight which characterize the best juvenile reformatories of today.

1858 Organization of the Massachusetts State Industrial School for Girls, at Lancaster, Massachusetts; the first separate reformatory for girls in the United States.

1863 Organization of the New York Catholic Protectory for destitute, neglected and delinquent children. This was the beginning of the greatest Catholic institution in America for these classes of children, and it developed methods of trade teaching for boys which placed it in the first rank of schools for children of these types.

1864 Enactment of a Hawaiian law providing that a judge "on complaint against any parent that he or she is encouraging their children in ignorance and vice" may "summon such parents" and, upon proof, may "bind out such child," etc. (This legislation suggests an early forerunner of the Colorado legislation of 1901 against parents and others as contributors to the delinquency of a child.)

1866 Establishment of the County Children's Home System in Ohio. This system, designed to displace almshouse care for children, was adopted also in Indiana and Connecticut. The system disappointed the expectations of its founders.

1868 Establishment of the boarding-out system for infants and other neglected children, by the Massachusetts state board of charity. This system has gradually expanded until it is now practiced by the state, the city of Boston, and various private societies in Massachusetts,—at an expense of more than $400,000 per year.

1868 Establishment of the first directed public playground in the United States, by the Old South Church at Boston, Massachusetts.

1869 Establishment of a system of visitation of delinquent children in family homes, by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. On the initiative of Dr. Samuel G. Howe, chairman, and Prof. Frank B. Sanborn, secretary, of the state board of charities, a visiting committee was appointed for the oversight of indentured children in Massachusetts, who numbered at that time about 1000. This supervision was later extended to the children paroled from the state reformatories for boys and girls.

1869 Organization of the "Salem Fraternity" at Salem, Massachusetts; the first boys' club in America.

1870 Establishment of separate courts for children in Massachusetts.

1870 Organization of the National Prison Congress. The study of the preventive care of neglected children has always been a prominent feature of the Congress.

1872 Organization of the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

1873 Enactment of Michigan law excluding children from almshouses; the first effective law to this end.

1874 Organization of the Michigan State Public School to care temporarily for all dependent children who would otherwise become inmates of almshouses, and to place them speedily in family homes.* The Michigan system has been adopted by Minnesota, Wisconsin and Colorado; and partially by Kansas, Iowa and Illinois.

1874 Organization of the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty; the first society of that order in the world.

1876 Organization of the Association of Medical Officers of American Institutions for the Idiotic and Feeble-Minded.

1883 Establishment of the National Florence Crittenton Mission for young mothers and their infants.

1883 Organization of the Children's Home Society in Illinois. Since developed into thirty state children's home societies devoted chiefly to placing children in family homes.

1885 Establishment of the New York State Custodial Asylum for Feeble-Minded Women; organized to save feeble-minded young women from vice and to prevent the multiplication of defectives. This was the first institution in the United States established solely for the care of feeble-minded young women during the child-bearing age.†

1887 Establishment of Neighborhood Guild (now University Settlement) in New York City; the first social settlement in the United States. Social settlements have operated, from the first, as active preventive agencies, reaching into the home and social life of the young, and working for the removal of the underlying causes of dependence and delinquency.

* The Massachusetts "State Primary School" at Monson was organized in 1866, but was closed about 1894, and family home care was substituted.

† Established as a branch of the Syracuse State Institution for Feeble-Minded Children, 1878; incorporated separately by Chapter 281 of the laws of 1885.

1889 Enactment of the Indiana law providing for county boards of children's guardians, to become responsible for children who become public wards.

1893 Organization of the first "day classes" for mentally defective children, in the United States, by the public school authorities of Providence, Rhode Island.

1895 Founding of the George Junior Republic, at Freeville, New York. The Junior Republic inaugurated the plan of juvenile self-government, and of teaching the boy "how to be a citizen by being a citizen," "how to bear responsibility by bearing responsibility."

1896 Organization of the Evangelical Lutheran Kinderfreund Society of Wisconsin, a Lutheran placing-out society which is already organized in fourteen states, and is disseminating the placing-out method.

1897 Establishment of the State Board of Guardians, in New Jersey; a board devoted exclusively to the care of children who are public wards.

1898 Establishment of the New York School of Philanthropy; the first school for the professional training of workers in philanthropy.

1898 Organization of the Catholic Home Bureau, in New York City; the first Roman Catholic society for placing children in family homes.

1899 Establishment of the first "juvenile court," in Illinois. In this court children ceased to be dealt with as criminals, but were placed under the care of a court of chancery as wards of the court.

1900 Organization of the first systematic study of backward and defective children.

1901 Enactment, in Colorado, of the law directed against contributors to juvenile delinquency, under which parents or other persons contributing to the delinquency of a child may be subjected to fine or other penalty.

1904 Organization of the National Child Labor Committee, for the reformation of abuses connected with the employment of children.

1905 Organization of the National Society for Study of the Care of Backward, Truant, Delinquent and Dependent Children.

THE LOGICAL ORDER

The logical order of the evolution of measures and agencies for the prevention of juvenile delinquency is very different from the chronological order. The logical order would be somewhat as follows:

1. Measures to prevent unfavorable heredity,—the transmission to posterity of insanity, feeble-mindedness, moral imbecility, epilepsy and the weaknesses favoring tuberculosis, alcoholism and general physical degeneration.

2. The study of the problem of delinquent and neglected children, by associations and conventions, such as the National and State Conferences of Charities, the National Prison Association, the National Society for the Education of Backward, Truant, Delinquent and Dependent Children, the National Child Labor Committee, the Association of Medical Officers of Institutions for the Feeble-Minded, the National Mothers' Congress, etc.

3. The evolution of social and medical child-study with a view to the correction, as far as possible, of those social and physical conditions which tend to promote juvenile delinquency, involving efforts to correct bad home conditions, or, if necessary, to transfer the child to a new environment.

4. The development of social agencies for the improvement of child environment, and the consequent diminution of delinquency. These include social settlements, social centers, children's clubs, playgrounds, and children's libraries; and societies of parents and other interested citizens,—such as mothers' clubs, parental associations, societies of social hygiene, etc.

5. The development of the juvenile court, not only as a tribunal for the trial of the cases of delinquent children and the determination of the question of dependency, but also as a most efficient agency for the discriminating social study of the child. The judge of the juvenile court becomes an expert student of social conditions, having at his command the impressive authority and machinery of the court, including the services of selected probation officers, who also become schooled in this line of social study. The juvenile court thus becomes an agent for prevention of delinquency in a much broader sense than is involved simply in the judicial trial of juvenile delinquents viewed as transgressors of the law.

6. The development of child-helping societies, including children's aid societies, children's home societies, societies for pre-

vention of cruelty to children, and juvenile court committees,—all of which are gradually improving in their understanding of the child-problem, in their effort to reach the remote and underlying causes, and in the efficiency of their administration.

The "placing-out" system and the "boarding-out" system of care for children have been developed largely by the child-helping societies.

7. The use of the family home, by means of the placing-out system, for the care of delinquent, dependent, and neglected children. Children may be placed out on board, the board being paid by parents or relatives, or by a child-helping society, or by public appropriations; or they may be placed in free homes where they are cared for without payment of board. Children may be placed in free homes on indenture, or by adoption, or they may be placed without adoption or indenture, subject to removal at the discretion of the placing-out agency.

The placing-out plan involves the obligation to exercise faithful and adequate supervision of children placed.

8. The development and the limitation of institutions for neglected children (including "dependents"), such as orphan asylums, children's homes, industrial schools (not reformatories), children's hospitals, etc. The value of such institutions is great, but it is important to recognize the truth which was brought out clearly in the White House Conference called by President Roosevelt at Washington, D. C., in 1909, that their mission is temporary, that the stay of such children in institutions should be brief, and that family care should be substituted, if practicable, at the earliest possible moment.

9. The development of schools for delinquent children, of which the field is more restricted than formerly, owing to the work of the juvenile court, and the extension of juvenile probation, whereby many children who were formerly sent to schools for delinquents are dealt with outside of such schools.

Truant schools and "parental schools" are sometimes classed with schools for delinquent children; there is a growing sentiment, however, that these schools should not be classed in that category, and that the children committed to them should not be regarded as delinquents. These schools are designed for the improvement of children who are habitual truants or are so troublesome and unruly in school as to occupy a disproportionate share of the teacher's attention, thus interfering with the welfare of other pupils. The

present tendency is to place such schools under the control of boards of education and to class them as part of the public school system.

In the present volume I have followed what I conceive to be the logical arrangement, but have placed the topics in the reverse order, for the reason that the subjects which would logically come first are those whose development has only recently begun, and accordingly are thus far the least understood.

PART ONE
INSTITUTIONS FOR DELINQUENT CHILDREN

CHAPTER I

THE JUVENILE REFORMATORY

THE juvenile reformatory of the twentieth century represents a radical departure from the penological methods which prevailed seventy-five years ago. While the New York House of Refuge on Randall's Island, established in 1824, was the first juvenile reformatory in this country, the real evolution of the juvenile reformatory did not take definite form until 1854, when the Ohio State Reform School, now the Ohio State Industrial School for Boys, broke away from the prison-like buildings and the prison discipline which long prevailed in the early institutions of this class.

Many of the juvenile reformatories were at first, in reality, juvenile prisons, with prison bars, prison cells, prison garb, prison labor, prison punishments and prison discipline generally. It was recognized as a legitimate part of the purpose of the institution to inflict upon the child punishment for his wrong-doing, adjusted according to the supposed ill desert of the culprit, and this idea was considered not to be inconsistent with the effort at reformation.

The juvenile reformatory of the twentieth century is organized on essentially different principles. It abandons entirely the prison method and the idea of retributive punishment. Its design is to create and establish right character in delinquent children, when all other agencies have failed. For many years the friends of the juvenile reformatory regarded it as the one and only method for dealing with incorrigible children, but, with the advent of the juvenile court law, with the probation system and with the recognition of the family home as the most practical and efficient reformatory in the world, the juvenile reformatory has taken a new place in the minds of those who are interested in children. It is no longer the instrument of first aid to erring children, but it is now recognized as the last resort. When we have exhausted the resources of the home, the church, the juvenile court, the probation officer, then we turn to the juvenile reformatory, and ask of it success in dealing with the problem in whose solution all other agencies have failed.

This view of the juvenile reformatory at once elevates and depresses it. On the one hand it is appealed to as an agency which

is to accomplish work which no other agency can perform; on the other hand, the most amenable and reformable children are now dealt with through the probation system, without commitment to an institution. As a consequence, the children who are sent to the institution are of a more difficult class than formerly and must of necessity tax more severely the wisdom, patience and resources of those to whose charge they are committed. It is probable that the practice of claiming that 90 per cent of the children who are cared for turn out well will go out of fashion and that we shall have to be well pleased if 60 per cent or 75 per cent become useful and honorable members of society.

The juvenile reformatory is not designed as a permanent institution in which to bring up children to manhood and womanhood. However good an institution may be, however kindly its spirit, however genial its atmosphere, however homelike its cottages, however fatherly and motherly its officers, however admirable its training, it is now generally agreed among those who are familiar with the needs of children of this class that institutional life is at the best artificial and unnatural, and that the child ought to be returned at the earliest practicable moment to the more natural environment of the family home—his own home if it is a suitable one, and if not, then some other family home. In a number of states, for example Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Minnesota, state agents, known as visitors or parole agents, have been appointed to find homes and care for children who are sent out from the institutions. In the state of Massachusetts this agency has reached a high degree of efficiency. The Lyman School for Boys, which has about 1200 boys out on parole, employs five parole agents and a clerk to care for these boys. In the state of Michigan there is a system of county agents who are expected to combine the office of probation officer and parole agent, and to co-operate with the officers of the state industrial schools in looking after children.

This idea found admirable expression in the twenty-first section of the Illinois Court law, which reads as follows:

"This act shall be liberally construed to the end that its purpose may be carried out, to wit: That the care, custody and discipline of a child shall approximate as nearly as may be that which should be given by its parents, and in all cases where it can be properly done, the child shall be placed in an approved family home and become one of the family, by legal adoption or otherwise."

The same idea is expressed in section seventeen of the act

creating the Illinois School for Delinquent Boys (now the St. Charles School for Boys), which reads as follows:

"The Board of Trustees shall also make regulations for the placing in homes and placing in employment, or returning to his own home if suitable, of such inmates of such Home as may safely and consistently with the public good, be so placed out or returned to his own home; it being the intention of this Act that no boy shall be kept in such Home who can properly be placed out or returned home, longer than may be reasonably necessary to prepare him for such placing out."

Whenever the officers of the institution are convinced that the child has acquired such character that he can go at large with reasonable hope of safety to himself and to the community, the sooner he goes out, the better for all concerned.

The work of the medical officer in a juvenile reformatory is second in importance only to that of the superintendent. More than half of the delinquent children committed to institutions are found to be proper subjects for the care of physician or surgeon. They are found to have adenoid growths, enlarged tonsils, heart trouble, trouble of the digestive organs, venereal diseases, phimosis, anæmia, eczema or other troubles calling for medical or surgical treatment. In many cases the delinquency of the child is traceable, in a greater or lesser degree, to these physical defects.

Every inmate, upon admission, should be subjected to a complete and thorough physical examination, at least as thorough as would be required of an applicant for life insurance. The facts discovered by this examination should be carefully recorded. The weight and measurements of the child should be preserved and fresh records should be added at frequent intervals. The medical examination should be accompanied by a psychological examination, in order to ascertain the mental defects and limitations of the child. Nearly all of these children are backward in their mental development. This backwardness is sometimes due to neglect. It is sometimes due to physical defect, like deafness, adenoids or defective vision. In many cases it is due to feeble-mindedness.

The medical and surgical examination of the child should discover whether he is a "moral imbecile." Some people are morally insane. Those who have been upright, truthful and peaceable, suddenly develop an insane disposition to commit murder or suicide or larceny. They lose their moral sense and become incapable of moral perceptions. In like manner, some children are born destitute

of moral sense. This defect often manifests itself in the form of cruelty to animals or to other children. In other cases it appears in an inherent disposition to lie or steal or defraud, without the capability of recognizing moral relations or moral obligations. Children of this class are often pleasant and plausible. They will assent readily to moral propositions but fail utterly in their application. Frequently such children have instincts of pyromania and many incendiary fires are traceable to them. The moral imbeciles are not numerous, but it is exceedingly important that they should be recognized and dealt with according to their nature. It is useless to discipline or educate them. They should be permanently restrained, as kindly and comfortably as possible, like other insane or feeble-minded people.

THE SPIRIT AND METHOD OF THE JUVENILE REFORMATORY

Having considered the design of the juvenile reformatory, we come next to its spirit. In order that the design may be accomplished, there must be enthusiastic and whole-souled devotion to that design. Every person connected with the institution, from the president of the board of trustees and the superintendent, to the cook and the stable man, should be inspired with the one purpose of developing the highest character which their young wards are capable of attaining. Every department should be organized with this purpose distinctly in view and neither expense nor labor should be spared which will clearly contribute to that end. Every activity of the pupils—study, work or play, should be directed intelligently and conscientiously toward the accomplishment of this purpose. Constant effort should be made to maintain such an environment and such a clean and wholesome atmosphere as shall contribute to high thinking and lofty purpose.

The methods by which this lofty design shall be furthered and by which this inspiring atmosphere shall be created will differ in detail in different institutions. Every true institution is a living organism, developing by inward vital principles, and every institution has an individuality of its own, resulting from its peculiar evolution and from the personal equations of the men and women by whom it is fostered and administered; but there are certain general characteristics which prevail in all of the best institutions of this class, and which are recognized by common consent as essential features of genuine reformatory work. Wide differences of detail

will be found in good institutions in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania Ohio, Minnesota and Colorado, but the following general principles will be found in most of them.

First, there is an absence of prison features. To one who is not acquainted with such institutions, but who knows that they are places of detention for boys who have committed grave offenses and even high felony, it is something of a shock to approach an institution like the Minnesota State Training School or the St. Charles School for Boys in Illinois and to discover that there are no walls, no high fences, no barred windows, no cells; that the grounds are open to all comers, that the cottages are built like ordinary dwelling houses; that boys are sent freely to all parts of a large farm, or are sent on errands to a distant village or city; that the inmates live in families under the care of a house father and house mother and that boys of all ages attend school under the charge of women teachers who control them with as little effort as the pupils in an ordinary public school. Many juvenile reformatories have one or more strong rooms, where a refractory boy may be given opportunity for quiet reflection on the error of his ways, but I have known reformatories where there was no place whatever to lock a boy up, but where, nevertheless, good discipline was maintained.

Second, the model reformatory is marked by encouragement of self-control and self-dependence. Many years ago a gentleman visited the Western House of Refuge at Rochester, New York. The boys were drawn up in line for his inspection. As he walked along the line he noted the downcast visages and the averted eyes of the boys. Turning to the superintendent he said: "Have you a boy in all that company that you would trust to go to Rochester on an errand and return unaccompanied?" The superintendent thought a moment and replied: "No, I do not think I have." The writer will never forget the sensation experienced many years ago in visiting a large institution for delinquent boys in New York City, and hearing a keeper say to a careless boy who was out of line: "Here, you Forty-seven Hundred and Forty-nine! What are you doing there?" There was among these boys a hopeless, forlorn and dogged aspect which is visible upon the countenances of many adult prisoners, but which has no place on the face of a young boy, however far he may have gone astray.

Education in the juvenile reformatory must be religious, intellectual and physical. However strong may be our convictions regarding religious liberty and separation between church and state,

we must agree that wise religious instruction is a powerful agency for the creation of character. Some have held that all that is necessary is to create right habits of thought and action, in order that the child may go right hereafter. Even if this be true, which may be fairly questioned, religious training is essential in order to the establishment of right habits.

The religious training of the children must be directed, and its general methods regulated, by the authorities of the institution. The practice of allowing every zealous clergyman, every representative of the Young Men's Christian Association, or a Christian Endeavor Society, or a Woman's Christian Temperance Union, to administer religious instruction to the children, as they may see fit, is not only a wrong educational method, but it is a wrong religious method. However good their intentions, and however correct their teaching, they necessarily lack the experience and the knowledge of the needs of the children which are essential to the accomplishment of the best results. Scientific method is just as essential in the religious training of the child as in his intellectual and physical training. It would be as reasonable to try to carry on the day school of the institution by means of a succession of visiting teachers, trained and untrained, as to carry on the religious training by the same method.

Religious instruction should be given to the children by religious teachers chosen and authorized by the superintendent and trustees. They should be chosen with special reference to their piety, wisdom, sympathy and aptness in dealing with children. They should be required to take special training for this difficult and important work. In most states it is required by law that religious instructors shall be so chosen as to give opportunity for training children in the religious faith of their parents. At least one religious instructor should give the whole of his time to the school. In small institutions a portion of his time might be given to the work of a state agent, finding homes and supervising children after their dismissal from the school. The Roman Catholic instructor should be required to devote at least one day of the week to his young charges. The religious instructor should have blood in his veins, and be capable of entering sympathetically into the life of the child, winning his confidence and becoming his personal friend and counselor.

The intellectual training should be of the highest quality. The majority of the children will be found backward in their studies; many of them dull and more disinclined to study. Teachers should be selected with reference to their special aptitude in stimulating

such pupils to an interest to study. The Chicago Parental School is carried on by the board of education. It is a school for truants and unruly boys. Out of the army of public school teachers in the city, the brightest and most successful teachers have been selected for this service. High salaries are paid and the results have been most encouraging.

The teachers should be men and women of originality, versatility, tact, patience and strong belief in the possibilities of human nature. No teacher should be tolerated who does not believe in the future of the children. Pessimism is an inconquerable bar to success. Those teachers succeed best who become inspired with love for their pupils, stimulating them to unfailing endeavor in behalf of their charges.

Women have the advantage over men for the reason that there is in the heart of every boy an instinct of chivalry which can be successfully appealed to. Superintendent John C. Ray, who was for many years at the head of the New Hampshire School, once said, "When I want to send a boy to the city of Manchester on an errand I invariably make the arrangement through one of the ladies of the school. It is an unheard-of thing for a boy to run away after promising a lady to return." While the teachers in reformatories are at a disadvantage in the material with which they have to do and in the previous habits of inattention and irregularity, they have some compensating advantage. The children are never tardy, they never play truant, they never run the streets at night, and the teachers do not have to contend against a lack of wholesome discipline at home. Moreover, the children are spurred to application by the most powerful human motive, namely, the hope of freedom; and however kindly the discipline, however large the liberty enjoyed, however homelike and genial the cottage life may be, nine-tenths of the children look forward eagerly to the time of their release, and most of them are willing to exert themselves to gain it.

Industrial training must be organized strictly with a view to its value as a means of producing character. This will eliminate productive industries, except in the agricultural department. Experience proves that if young boys are to be used in productive manufactures successfully, their training must be specialized and they must be kept doing one thing at a high speed. This is hopelessly inconsistent with the effort to create character. Incessant, monotonous toil does not develop independence, hopefulness or love of industry. It produces a bodily weariness which hinders education

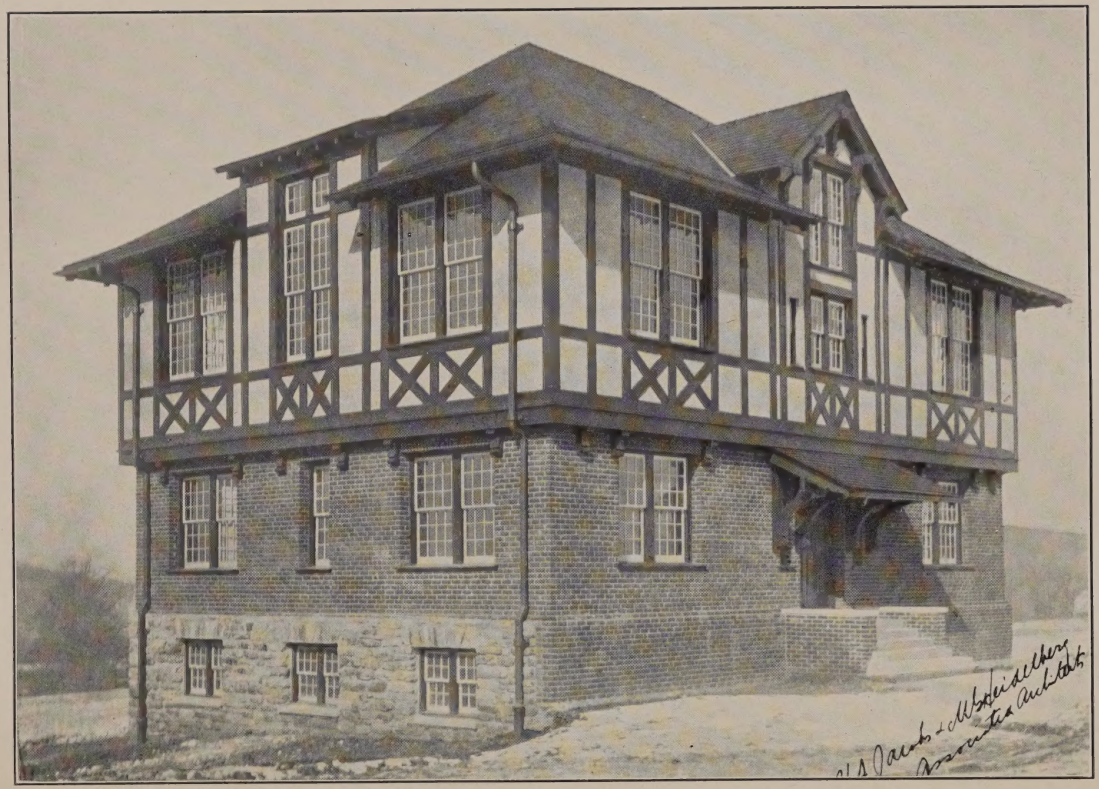
in other lines. It will eliminate what is sometimes called "busy work" for little boys, such as cane-seating, knitting machine work and brush making, for the same reason.

The training of boys in agriculture fits the boy for farm life, which is a wholesome and happy life; but it must be remembered that the great majority of boys in juvenile reformatories are too young and too backward to take advanced courses in agricultural training, and that the simple and primary training which they are capable of receiving can be acquired quite as well on the farm as in the institution. If the boy has acquired a reliable character the farmer can train him. It must be remembered also that only a minority of the boys in juvenile reformatories can be adapted to the life of the farm. The majority of these boys come from the cities and villages. They have the town fever in their veins and it is practically impossible to keep them on farms. Home-sickness and distaste for farm labor attack many of them and they drift back sooner or later to city life. Any organization of industrial training which refuses to take account of this obvious fact in human nature and attempts to force the entire population of the institution onto the land is a mistake. It is true that many city boys take kindly to farming and remain permanently in the country; it is true also that many country boys crave the town life.

In order to meet the diverse needs of the pupils it is necessary to diversify the industrial training. There must be sloyd, nature study, flower gardens, weeding, kite making, etc., for the little fellows. There must be farm labor, chicken raising, brick making, road making, stock raising, dairying, horticulture, manual training classes in carpentry, painting, blacksmithing, bricklaying, etc., for the older lads—all of these employed primarily and constantly for the great aim and purpose of the institution, character building.

Incidentally, valuable crops, and animals, and roads, and sidewalks and brick buildings will be produced, but that is not what industrial training will be organized for. Incidentally, the farm boys will learn to make a gate or a wagon tongue or a hot bed, to cobble a shoe or nail on a horse shoe, but that is not the final purpose of the training.

Industrial training will tend to create character by developing the steady hand, the true eye, working to a plan, obeying orders, conscientious fulfilment of design, steadfast application to a task, delight in a perfect and finished job, respect for a master who knows



Cottage at the Jewish Protectory, Hawthorne, New York

how to plan and to produce results; taste for industrial labor and discovery of one's peculiar aptitude.

THE PLANT OF THE JUVENILE REFORMATORY

A large farm of not less than 300 acres of fertile land, adapted for general agriculture, gardens, orchards and small fruit, is essential. The farm should be conveniently near a good-sized town of perhaps 2,000 to 5,000 people (say not more than two miles distant). This is necessary in order to give employes a reasonable opportunity for church going, recreation, shopping, etc.; it is very difficult to hold good employes on a farm four or five miles from town. It is necessary, also, in order to facilitate the necessary visits of trustees, parents and others who have business with the institution. The farm should be contiguous to the main line of a railway in order to allow a convenient side track for the delivery of building material and supplies. It should be so situated as to insure an abundant supply of good water and good drainage.

The buildings should be of a substantial and enduring character, planned by a competent architect under the close supervision of an experienced superintendent and a watchful board of trustees. The aim should be to secure adequate and convenient space at a minimum cost.

A juvenile reformatory should not be planned for more than 500 boys or girls, for the reason that the number should not go beyond what can be kept within the personal knowledge and acquaintance of a single superintendent. It is now generally agreed that the "cottage plan" has great advantages over the congregate plan, and most of the newer institutions are built on that plan: for example, those at Westboro, Massachusetts; Middletown, Connecticut; Glen Mills, Pennsylvania; Red Wing, Minnesota; Golden, Colorado; and St. Charles, Illinois.

Institutions on the cottage plan have been built at a varying cost of from $500 to $2,000 a bed. It is necessary to avoid false economy on the one hand and extravagance on the other. A cheaply built institution with inferior architecture, poor bricks, unseasoned lumber, bad workmanship and cheap plumbing soon wears out and creates extravagant expense for repairs. On the other hand, ornate and pretentious buildings with space wasted in wide corridors, spacious guest chambers and excessive room for employes, increase unnecessarily the expense of heating, cleaning, etc., use up funds

which ought to be expended in providing for children, and, still worse, create a prejudice against the institution in the minds of the people, as a result of which, the legislature becomes niggardly in its appropriations and the proper development of the institution is delayed.

An adequate plant for a juvenile reformatory can be built and equipped for from $800 to $1,000 per bed, including land. Some very good institutions have cost, when completed, about $800 per bed. This amount may be roughly distributed as follows:

Item	*Cost per Bed*
Land	$100
Cottages	350
School house	100
Shop and gymnasium	65
Chapel	45
Domestic buildings	50
Farm buildings	40
Heating, lighting, plumbing and sewers	50
Total	$800

That this is a reasonable estimate will be apparent on comparison with the value of an ordinary family home. We have allowed for dwelling house, land, kitchen, laundry, etc., heating, lighting, plumbing, etc., $550 per bed. This would allow for a dwelling house, to accommodate six persons, at $550 per bed, $3,300. This sum will build a comfortable dwelling house and purchase a suitable lot in the suburbs of any city. We have allowed for one acre of ground for each inmate, at $100 per acre. We have allowed for school house, chapel, shops and gymnasium, composing the educational plant, $200 per inmate. This would be at the rate of $50,000 for a school house for 500 children; $25,000 for a church of 500 sittings and $32,500 for shops for manual training. The latter sum may seem inadequate, but it must be remembered that many children will be too small for shop training and that those who take manual training will work in sections so that each shop can serve the needs of three to four sets of boys each day. An acre of ground for each inmate is as much ground as can be profitably worked in connection with an institution. Intensive farming, gardening, horticulture and floriculture give the most valuable training and require only a limited acreage. The greater part of the land will be used to raise corn, oats and roots, for the live stock of the institution.

Cottages should be planned with the utmost care. They should be built for not more than 25 children each. They should

contain about 45 feet of dormitory space for each inmate; about 30 square feet of day room space; about 10 square feet of bath room and storage space, and if dining rooms are provided they should contain about 15 square feet of space for each inmate. Provision should be made for two employes in each cottage (preferably husband and wife). They should have for sitting room, bedroom, bath and storage about 400 square feet of space. The basement should contain play rooms for stormy weather with lockers for boys' private belongings. The total floor space for the first and second floors would be as follows: Dormitories, 1,400 feet; day room, 900 feet; baths and storage, 300 feet; employes, 400 feet; total, 3,000 feet. This would mean a building about 40 feet square. Excellent examples of such cottages, accommodating 30 boys, will be found at the Illinois Industrial Training School Farm, at Glenwood, Illinois: cost, $10,000 each.

The school building of a reformatory should pattern after the best ward schools in cities and will cost about the same. The shop buildings need not be expensive structures. They can be built one or two stories high and all heavy machinery can be located on the first floor, resting on the ground and obviating the necessity for heavy construction. A separate chapel is desirable in order to cultivate the spirit of reverence and to afford suitable accommodations for religious services. A well-equipped gymnasium is needed as a means of physical development and for the correction of physical defects by the physical director under advice of the physician. Exercise should be had for the most part in the open air and suitable playgrounds are indispensable. Playgrounds should be large enough for team work and should be numerous to allow for small groups.

The domestic buildings, heating, lighting and power plant, laundry, kitchen, general dining rooms, refrigerator, store house, fire department, etc., should be so located as to allow for economical returns from the steam plant and at the same time proper subordination to the remainder of the institution. The steam plant should be adequate and the boiler house should be large. Inadequacy leads to expensive repairs and wasteful forcing of the plant, wearing out of boilers and expensive rebuilding. Several new cottage institutions have a separate heating plant for each cottage and economy is claimed both for installation and maintenance.

Whichever plan may be adopted, it is vitally important, in order to attain the purpose of the institution, that the officers shall be in full force at meal times, instructing the children in table man-

ners, regulating their conversation and inspiring an air of cheerfulness and homelikeness at the daily meals. The use of linen table cloths, napkins and attractive table-ware will contribute to this end. It is an excellent plan, if practicable, to have an institution officer seated at each table. These officers may take their meals at a different time from the pupils' meal hours, or they may eat with the children.

The farm buildings should be planned with as much thought and care as the other buildings. They should be attractive in appearance, not on account of incongruous decorations of the gingerbread order, but because of their proportions and their manifest adaptation to their purpose. They should be so constructed as to promote the utmost cleanliness and the healthfulness of the domestic animals kept in them, and the same standard of order, neatness and cleanliness should prevail in them as in other departments of the institution. The agricultural work of the institution generally should be of the very best, not only for the credit of the institution, but chiefly for the educational effect upon the pupils. The boy who comes to love cleanliness, neatness and order, and at the same time cultivates a spirit of kindness and love to animals, has laid a considerable foundation for right character; and the benefit which comes to the shop boy from exactness, precision and thoroughness will come to the farm boy in the perfect care of the horses, cows, calves and pigs and in the absolute and constant cleanliness of their surroundings. If the farm boy is allowed to go dirty and ragged; if the pig pen is foul and the horse stable has a rotten floor; if the garden is weedy and the corn is half tended; if the farm tools are left covered with mud and the farm machinery lies out in the weather—the boy will be left with low ideals and a great opportunity for character building will be lost.

AFTER-CARE—THE STATE AGENCY

The laws establishing juvenile reformatories in most states provide that the children shall continue to be wards of the institution during their minority. This implies that the child shall continue under the watch-care of the institution after his dismissal. The best juvenile reformatories now recognize the after-care of the child as a duty equally important with his care in the institution. Massachusetts, New Jersey, Illinois, Minnesota and other states maintain state agents for the express purpose of performing this

duty. The agent becomes acquainted with the child, gains his confidence before dismissal, and investigates the child's own home, if he has one, to ascertain whether it is a suitable place for him. If the child has no suitable home of his own, the agent finds a family home and takes the child there in order to initiate him in his new surroundings. The agent maintains correspondence with the child and receives reports from the parents or foster parents and pays personal visits. If the home proves at any time to be unfit or if the child gets into trouble, the agent returns him to the institution for further treatment or replacement. The relation between the agent and the child is one of confidential friendship. In Minnesota and Iowa the place of state agent for both boys and girls has been filled by women, and experience has shown that the instinct of chivalry which resides in the bosom of every normal boy becomes a helpful aid to the performance of their work.

The head of the institutions of the state is the governor, who appoints the boards of directors. In some states it has been the custom for the governor to dictate to the board of directors the appointment of the superintendent and sometimes the subordinate officers, these positions being regarded as political spoils. There can be no question as to the injurious effect of this practice. The governor should choose the board of directors, not for the partisan usefulness of its members, but with reference solely to their competence and efficiency. Having thus selected them, he should leave them to perform their duties without interference, and he can then hold them responsible for the results.

The directors should be men of practical experience in affairs. The board should include a lawyer of high rank, at least one business man of experience in large affairs, and at least one man of special experience in the organization and management of public institutions. All the members should be men of intelligence, courage, independence and sufficient leisure to enable them to devote at least one day of each month to the institution with additional time for work on special committees. All of the directors should visit other institutions of the same class and should attend annual conventions where they may meet officers and directors of other states. An unpaid board is preferable in order to eliminate professional office seekers. A per diem of $5.00 per day is no inducement to men of the class needed on such a board.

The most important duty of the board of directors is the selection of the superintendent. They should select him just as they

would select a head for any other educational institution; namely, by taking the best man wherever they can find him, at home or abroad, and disregarding all applications of place hunters. Having found the best man attainable, they should give him large powers and hold him to a strict responsibility. The board should not interfere in minor details but should keep themselves thoroughly and intimately informed as to the operations of the superintendent and his subordinates. They should delegate to the superintendent the duty of nominating all subordinate employes, subject to their confirmation, and should give him authority to dismiss subordinates at his discretion. The superintendent should hold office at the pleasure of the board of directors, without term. Boards of directors should take an active and efficient share in the preparation of building plans, the organization of new departments and changes in the general management of the institution.

The board of directors should be fully awake to the great purpose of the institution and should be earnestly and wisely in sympathy with it.

The superintendent of the juvenile reformatory should be a man of extraordinary qualifications. No public institution demands more efficient or competent work. In selecting superintendents for insane hospitals, schools for feeble-minded children, schools for the deaf and the blind, the need of special training and superior ability is recognized, but many people seem to suppose that almost any good man of fair ability can manage a reform school.

The superintendent must be a competent educator who can direct the operation of the schools, manual training, agricultural training, and physical training. He must have sufficient knowledge of farming to manage a large farm economically. He must be a good business man for the management of the business affairs of the institution, purchase of supplies, planning and supervision of buildings, etc. He must be a man of administrative capacity, capable of directing efficiently the work of a large corps of diverse employes. He should be a man of culture and education because only a well-educated man can unite all of the other qualifications. He should be a man of religious spirit. He may be a Protestant or a Roman Catholic or a Jew, but he must be a reverent man, imbued with the spirit of love to God and to his fellow man, and a man of such catholicity as will enable him to rise above sectarian narrowness and to treat with due consideration the people of diverse faiths with whom he may come in contact.

Above all, the superintendent should have that fine spirit of sympathy with young life, insight and stimulating power which has marked the great school masters of the world, like Arnold of Rugby, Taylor of Andover and Lane of Chicago. He must be able to discover the secret springs in a boy's character, to appeal to unsuspected motives, to arouse dormant powers of resistance to temptation, to labor with unflagging zeal and unlimited patience for the accomplishment of the seemingly impossible task, to meet every new boy with as much freshness, hopefulness and courage as if he had never known an incorrigible.

The superintendency of a juvenile reformatory is no place for a broken-down school master, or a clergyman "without charge," or a crank, chock full of theories which he wishes to work out upon the children, or a well-intentioned citizen who has failed in business; least of all for a useful politician waiting to be rewarded. The men who unite the qualifications already described are few and much wanted. They are apt to be modest men, under-rating themselves and not knowing their own powers, awaiting the discovery of some discriminating director who knows how to find a man.

The teachers of the institution, religious teachers, day school teachers and industrial teachers, should be men and women (the majority women) who are enthusiastically devoted to the effort to bring out the very best possibilities of their pupils. Indifferent, perfunctory teachers, working only for their salaries, should be dispensed with as soon as their disposition is discovered. The work will be accomplished quite as much by the personality of the teachers as by their direct instructions. There are many splendid examples of such teachers in our juvenile reformatories. When one realizes the difficult and intractable material with which they have to deal—boys and girls who have been given over by former teachers as incorrigibly vicious, unmanageable, or hopelessly dull, we can but wonder at the fine enthusiasm and the remarkable success with which some of these teachers work. In order that they may do their best work it is desirable that they shall live outside the institution, and shall be relieved of responsibility for their pupils out of school hours. Freshness and vigor are essential to their success.

The matrons, cottage managers, house fathers and house mothers, yard officers, farmer, farm employes, kitchen employes, laundry employes, etc., who have charge of children out of school hours, should be people of like character with the teachers. They should be conscientious, earnest, alert, enthusiastic. They should

use the English language correctly; they should refrain from slang and other improprieties of language; they should be polite and courteous in their manners, quiet in their tones. There is no place in a juvenile reformatory for people of doubtful character, coarse, ignorant or ill-bred. The training and development of character in the child should go on continually. It is folly to counteract in the field the good training which the boy has received in the school room, or to have the employe in the kitchen inculcate by his example the vices of speech or conduct against which the boy has been warned by the cottage manager. If the use of tobacco is forbidden to the pupils it should not be permitted on the premises by the officers. It is not an edifying spectacle to see a yard officer seated on a bench with a pipe in his mouth, watching narrowly to see that tobacco is not smuggled to the boys by outsiders.

Next to the superintendent, the most important officer in the institution is the state agent, who is in charge of the after-care of the pupils. It is an astonishing oversight that many states still neglect to provide for this indispensable work. In Massachusetts and New Jersey the vital importance of the state agency has long been recognized. In Minnesota and Iowa this difficult and important work has been successfully performed by women. When the Minnesota legislature established a state agency, in 1897, there were several able-bodied applicants for the position. To the surprise of the community, the board of managers selected for the position Miss Grace Johnston, a slender, quiet and womanly woman. Miss Johnston had practical knowledge of street children, through work for the newsboys in St. Paul, among whom she was widely known and much admired. She began by getting acquainted with the boys and girls in the school. As the time for their dismissal approached she visited their homes to ascertain whether they were suitable places, and if the home was passably good, the child was returned to his own home; if not, a place was found in some other family home. After dismissal, Miss Johnston kept in touch with her wards by frequent correspondence. If a ward got into trouble an immediate visit followed. If a boy violated the conditions of his parole, she conducted him to the school. It was a matter of astonishment to sheriffs and policemen to see this slender and refined woman take charge of young men of sixteen to twenty years of age who had broken their parole and perhaps committed some serious offense against the law, and take them long distances by rail, without

physical restraint, solely by the power of her personal influence and her womanhood.

The old method was to build a boy up by long and patient effort in the institution and then to send him back, without watch-care, to the very environment which had brought him to the delinquent condition. The new method is, by friendly and faithful watch-care, to nourish and strengthen the good character which has been started in the institution, protecting him as far as possible from adverse and degrading influences and returning him to the shelter of an institution if his new purposes prove too weak to stand the strain of outside temptation.

As an economical measure the state agency is of the utmost value, because it enables the directors to dismiss pupils with safety from three months to six months sooner than would otherwise be justifiable, saving to the state, in cash, several times the cost of the department; but the saving of money is the smallest advantage of the work.

If these ideals seem to be visionary and impractical, I believe that a careful study of the actual workings of an institution of this class will remove that impression. The juvenile reformatories have accomplished much, against great difficulties. Their superintendents are an intensely practical and earnest body. They ought to have the earnest co-operation of every philanthropist in the effort to broaden and strengthen their work and to raise it to the highest possible standard of altruistic effort.

CHAPTER II

SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS

By MARY W. DEWSON and HASTINGS H. HART

THE general principles which govern the organization and administration of schools for delinquent boys, apply also to schools for delinquent girls; but the problem of the girl differs in some essential respects from the problem of the boy. The girl differs not only in her physical character, strength and capabilities, but in her moral nature, strength and capabilities. She differs in her point of view, in her moral perceptions, in the motives which affect her character and influence her conduct. Some of the motives which appeal most strongly to the boy, have little weight with her.

The boy is bold, aggressive, active, gregarious. He is easily influenced by the stronger boy or the young man whose strength and prowess he admires. His sense of chivalry can be appealed to by a wise teacher or house mother. He will go thoughtlessly to any length, impelled by the gang instinct.

The girl is self-centered. She is personal. She has a less vital grasp of the real and practical world and less interest in it than a boy, but she has a strong idealizing sense which should be wisely directed. It should not be spent on an all absorbing and often abnormal personal devotion. A girl loves goodness and the idea of service as much as a boy loves courage and loyalty, but she has not usually found satisfying expression for her ideals as the boy has for his in feats of strength and team play. It is for the school to teach her to express her ideals by contentedly serving those about her in the every day routine. The girl finds her greatest happiness in customary acts of routine and in an even, well-regulated life, while the boy finds his in adventure. The girl is easily led astray by her vanity. She lacks initiative and self-dependence. She needs some one to whom she can look for guidance.

The girl's behavior and disposition are often affected by physical causes which produce recurrent and periodical hysteria, bad temper and sometimes temporary insanity. Many girls have been disciplined, punished, branded as incorrigible and finally ruined,

Cottage at the Indiana Girls' School, Clermont, Indiana. A Model Cottage for Girls

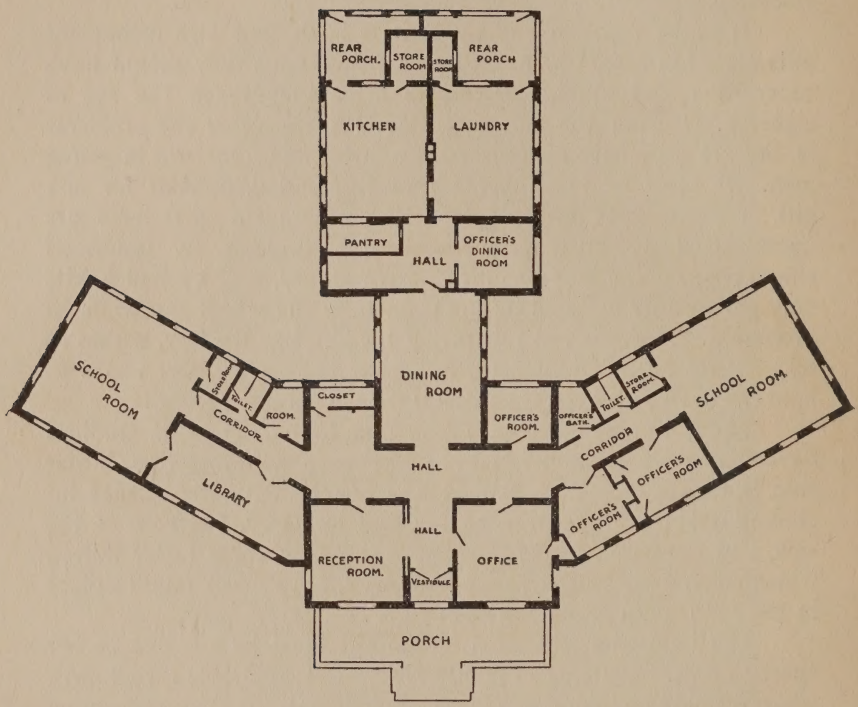
whose initial need was medical or surgical treatment rather than discipline. Some too, who seem to have ungovernable tempers while in the institution and who, while there, are continually in disgrace, when paroled under individual care in a private family learn self-control; their high spirits only serve to increase their efficiency.

It is the experience of the writers in dealing with delinquent girls placed in family homes, that in many cases they should have supervision and kindly watch-care after they reach the age of eighteen. During the following two or three years the problems of life are especially complicated by their intense interest in young men. It must be remembered that this period, difficult for any girl, is particularly difficult for these delinquent girls, who are handicapped by great temperamental difficulties, by unformed characters, by the lack of much native ability, and by bad habits only temporarily arrested by the training at the school and while on probation. Moreover, at this period the girl, like the boy, wishes to rely on her untried judgment, but while the social order works to hold the boy to his task, it conspires to lead her away from it.

The girl needs a separate school, an individual room, studious development of her individuality, training in self-protection, initiative, in wise spending of money, housewifery, domestic science including plain sewing, dressmaking and millinery, the care of the sick, and the care of infants. (Strange to say, these latter duties, which come early to the young housewife, have never found a place in the curriculum of our schools.)

The industrial education of the girl must be adapted to her special needs. Training in domestic science is desirable for all girls, whatever may be their subsequent employment. A large proportion of the inmates of such schools are adapted to domestic work and should be trained for it. Domestic service has serious perils, but the watch-care of a girl employed as a domestic after leaving the school is a very much simpler proposition than the watch-care of a girl employed in a factory or a store.

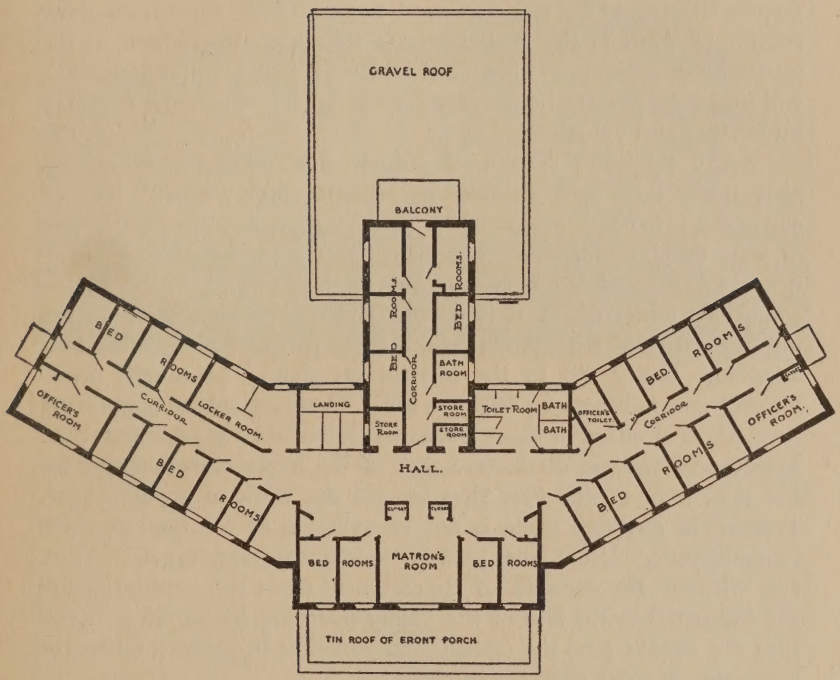
Training in domestic science should be genuine and complete. Much of what goes under that name in schools for delinquent girls is entirely unworthy of the name. It is a common thing to find that a girl has been kept for many months at one kind of employment, such as scrubbing, dish-washing, chamber work, or table waiting. If she is faithful and uncomplaining, she is more likely to be used in this way than if she is restless and troublesome; thus the tractable and



INDIANA GIRLS' SCHOOL, CLERMONT, INDIANA

COTTAGE—FIRST-FLOOR PLAN

This cottage is admirably planned. The kitchen and laundry are cut off from the rest of the cottage by the dining room, avoiding kitchen smells and summer heat. The school rooms are admirably lighted. Hall space is saved by placing them at the end of the corridor. Suitable accommodations are provided for the officers. The domestic department gives opportunity for cooking, laundry work, etc., on the plan of an ordinary household.



INDIANA GIRLS' SCHOOL, CLERMONT, INDIANA

COTTAGE—SECOND-FLOOR PLAN

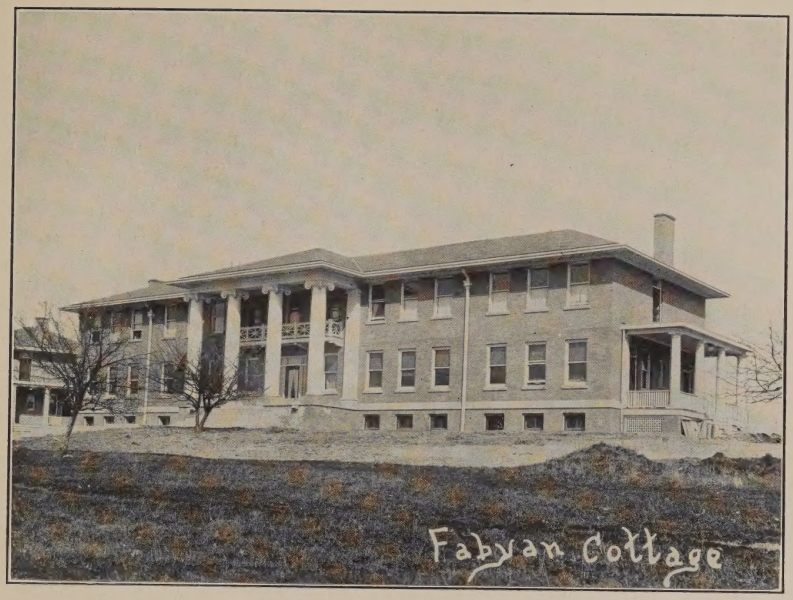
This floor provides separate rooms for 30 girls. The matron's room commands a view of every door on the floor. Girls' rooms are not locked, but if a girl opens her door an electric signal is given in the matron's room. The lighting of this building is ideal. Nearly every room gets sunlight at some hour in the day. This is an excellent example of the modern cottage for delinquent girls.

well-disposed girl suffers for her amiability. The domestic work of the house should be performed by the girls under a system of rotation, whereby each one will have an opportunity to become familiar with every phase of housekeeping. Furthermore, when a girl has completed her training, no matter how successful she may be in the institution she should be given at once a chance on parole. Domestic science illustrated by the organized and carefully supervised daily routine of work is the best domestic training. Instruction in the mysteries of cooking, baking, food materials, laundry materials, etc., will make the practical experience of the work of the house far more interesting and valuable.

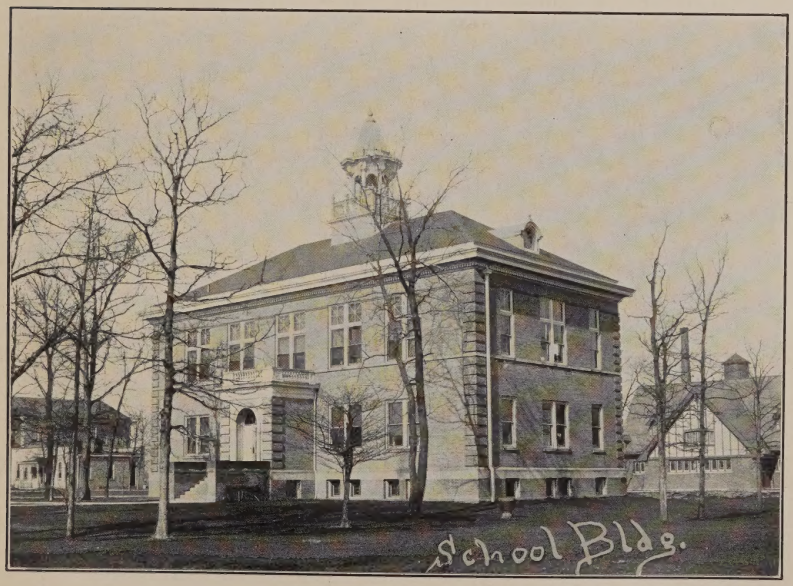
Any thorough system of industrial training for delinquent girls must take into account permanent employment. Not all can or ought to become domestic servants, but most of them will sooner or later be home makers. The disinclination for housework so frequently expressed is not always due to the work itself, but to the conditions under which it is done. The occupations based on the natural duties of a home maker are those to which women are best adapted. Every girl in the institutions should be taught dressmaking and millinery for her own use. Those capable of supporting themselves at either of these trades will have laid a good foundation. Training in another distinctive task of the home maker, caring for the sick, may be the first step toward the work of an attendant. Training in any one trade is not so valuable as training in these fundamentals. Usually her own home is not suitable for her return, and without the strength of character to resist the temptations of the industrial world and of the lonely boarding house, it is better that she should pass the transitional period at housework under the protection of some good family.

Schools for delinquent girls, like those for boys, should be on a farm, which need not be as large for girls as for boys. The girls need outdoor life. They should raise chickens, geese, rabbits and lambs. They should learn gardening and horticulture and dairying and the care of domestic animals. In these pursuits they will find delight and recreation, and at the same time acquire health and vigor.

The girl is better and worse than the boy. The number of delinquent girls is much less than that of delinquent boys. The census report of 1904 showed 47 boys out of every 100,000 of the total population in a juvenile reformatory, to only 13 girls. The difference is due partly to the reluctance of the courts to deal with



Fabyan Cottage



School Building with Chapel at the right

Illinois Training School for Girls, Geneva

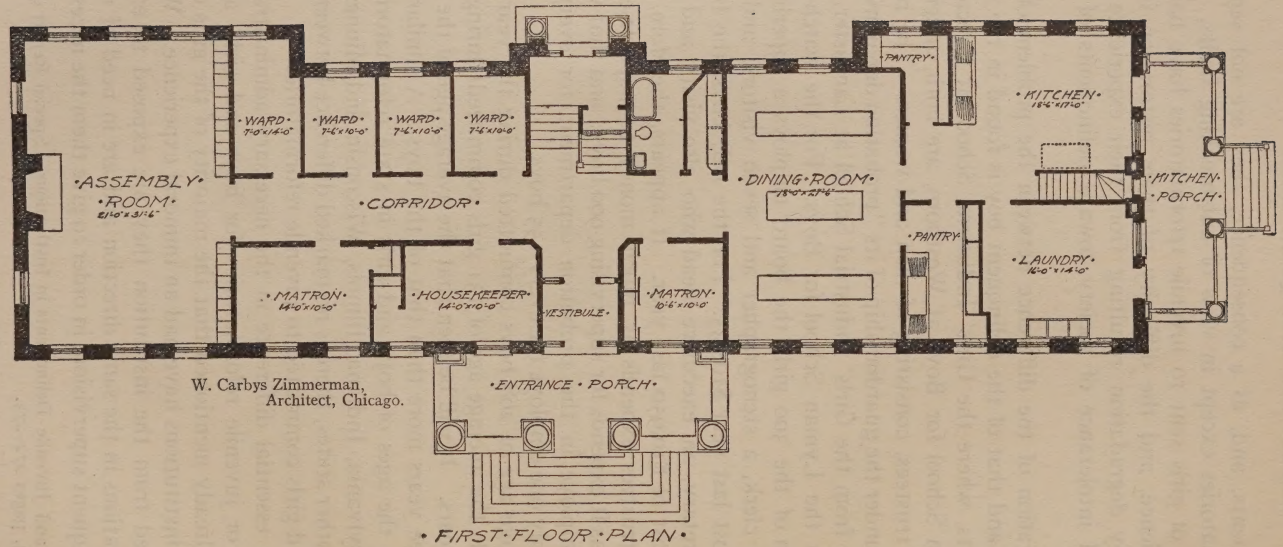
girls as delinquents, and, as a consequence, they are not sent to juvenile reformatories except in view of out-breaking faults. The great majority of girls sent to juvenile reformatories have had an immoral experience, and the difficulty of their restoration is increased both by degradation resulting from their experience and by wide-spread intolerance of society toward delinquents of this class.

An illustration of the difference between the problem of the delinquent girl and that of the delinquent boy is found in the state of Massachusetts, where the Girls' Industrial School at Lancaster, and the Lyman School for Boys at Westboro, are both under the same board of trustees, consisting of men and women. The board of trustees has under the guardianship of its "probation department" about 300 girls from the Girls' Industrial School at Lancaster, and 928 boys from the Lyman School for Boys. For the watch-care and supervision of the 300 girls the board employs a superintendent, a record clerk, a stenographer and seven visitors, and the girls' agency cost last year $10,735. For the 928 boys, the board employs a secretary, an executive head who also visits, and four visitors, at a cost of $10,950 last year. It appears, therefore, that this board of trustees expends as much money to supervise 300 girls in homes, as it expends for supervising 900 boys; and that while there is one employe in the probation department for every 30 girls, there is only one employe for every 155 boys.

The average age of 268 boys committed during the year was 12.7 years, while the average age of 131 girls committed during the year was 15.4 years. It will be seen that the average age of the girls was nearly three years more than that of the boys. A similar disparity between the ages of boys and girls in state reformatories is found in Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota. In most of the other states, there is no marked difference between the ages of boys and girls committed to juvenile reformatories.*

The most essential difference in the necessary administration of institutions or juvenile reformatories for boys and girls, arises from the fact already mentioned that the majority of the girls committed to such institutions have had an immoral experience. When they are paroled from the institution they are exposed to extraordinary temptations in the same direction and are in need of more efficient and frequent supervision, in order to give them the necessary

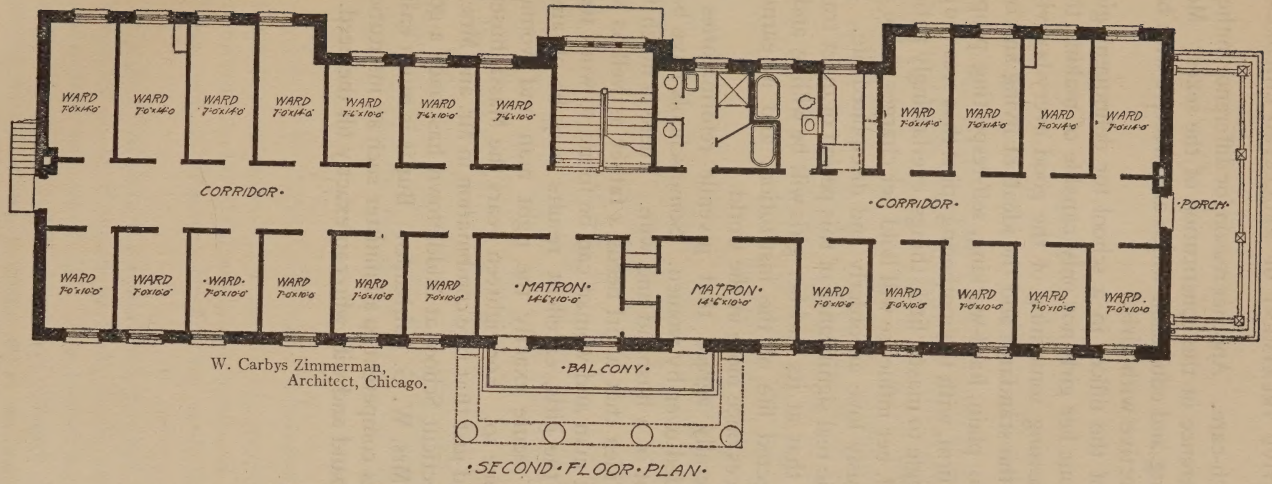
* Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents in Institutions. Special Report of the Census Office, 1904, pages 272–273.



W. Carbys Zimmerman,
Architect, Chicago.

STATE TRAINING SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, GENEVA, ILLINOIS—FABYAN COTTAGE

Fabyan Cottage is one of four cottages on identical plans, built in 1907 at a cost of $21,000 each. They are built of pressed brick, with floors of maple and hard pine and staircases of oak. Each cottage provides for 26 girls in single rooms, with 5 employes. Each cottage contains an assembly room, but no school room. The kitchen and laundry are cut off from the rest of the house by the dining room and are arranged to permit household work on the plan of an ordinary family.



STATE TRAINING SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, GENEVA, ILLINOIS—FABYAN COTTAGE

The second floor provides separate rooms for 22 girls, in addition to 4 similar rooms on the first floor. Two matrons on the same floor have supervision of the girls. This cottage is typical of the modern idea of provision for delinquent girls.

support and watch-care. Another reason for difference in the management is the difference in the constitution of the sexes. Methods of discipline, training and education which are effective with boys, may be entirely ineffective with girls.

The test of the officer in a school for delinquent girls is her ability to send out her girls not only capable of making themselves useful, but possessing something of the good everyday virtues and in possession of the standards and the ideals of living and of conduct which belong to plain, hard-working, self-respecting people. Well poised, just and firm, with the mothering spirit that sees the soul grow in its daily struggle to master little things, everlastingly patient, everlastingly hopeful, her influence will hold her charges stable and make them unconsciously love an orderly and disciplined life. She must be wise to see the real significance of this period of quiet training and preparation, so that at its end her girls will be willing and eager to leave the protected life of the institution, and in earnest about taking their places once more in the world.

It is generally agreed that juvenile reformatories for girls should be presided over by women. Some schools have been under the management of a husband and wife. There is much to be said in favor of the idea that a girl needs a father as well as a mother. If just the right man and woman can be found to work together for the benefit of the girls, excellent results may be obtained. The difficulty is to secure exactly the right man and woman. Some schools have done so. For eighteen years the Massachusetts School at Lancaster had just that rare combination in Mr. and Mrs. Brackett. And the Connecticut School at Middletown has made a good record under Mr. and Mrs. W. G. Fairbanks. But it is much easier to find a woman who is competent to administer such an institution, than it is to find a husband and wife who can exactly fill the need.

CHAPTER III

SEMI-PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS FOR DELINQUENTS

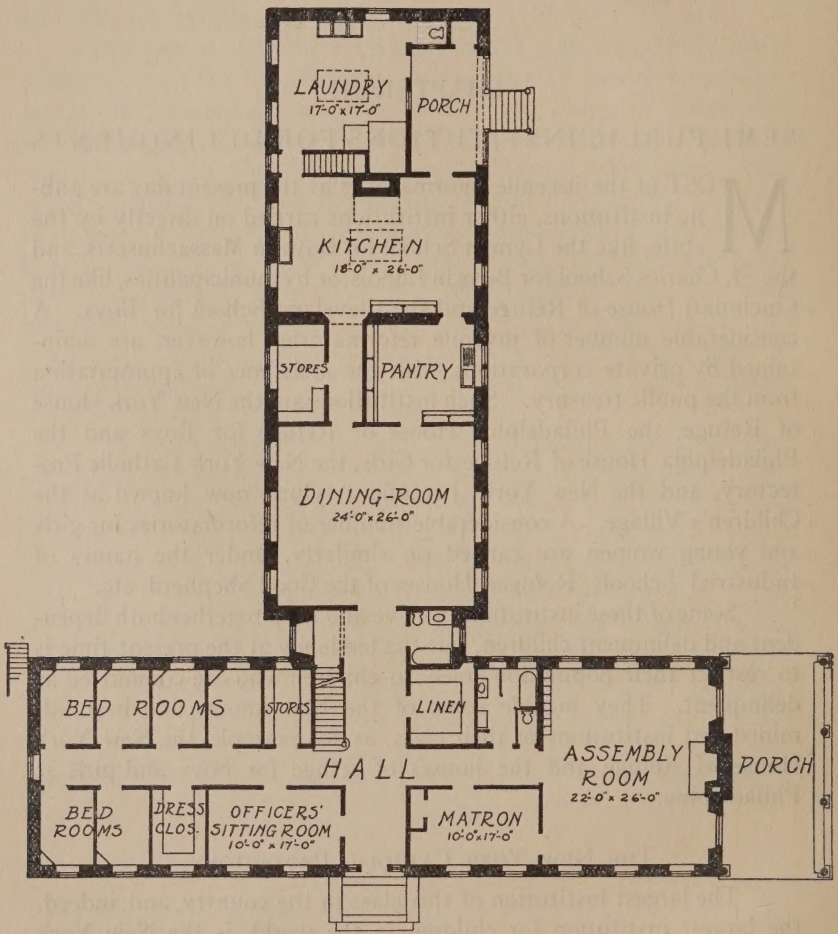
MOST of the juvenile reformatories at the present day are public institutions, either institutions carried on directly by the state, like the Lyman School for Boys in Massachusetts, and the St. Charles School for Boys in Illinois, or by municipalities, like the Cincinnati House of Refuge and the Cleveland School for Boys. A considerable number of juvenile reformatories, however, are maintained by private corporations, with the assistance of appropriation from the public treasury. Such institutions are the New York House of Refuge, the Philadelphia House of Refuge for Boys and the Philadelphia House of Refuge for Girls, the New York Catholic Protectory, and the New York Juvenile Asylum, now known as the Children's Village. A considerable number of reformatories for girls and young women are carried on similarly, under the names of Industrial Schools, Refuges, Houses of the Good Shepherd, etc.

Some of these institutions receive and keep together both dependent and delinquent children, but the tendency at the present time is to restrict their population solely to children who are committed as delinquent. They include some of the best known and best administered institutions of their class, as, for example, the New York House of Refuge and the houses of refuge for boys and girls at Philadelphia.

The New York Catholic Protectory

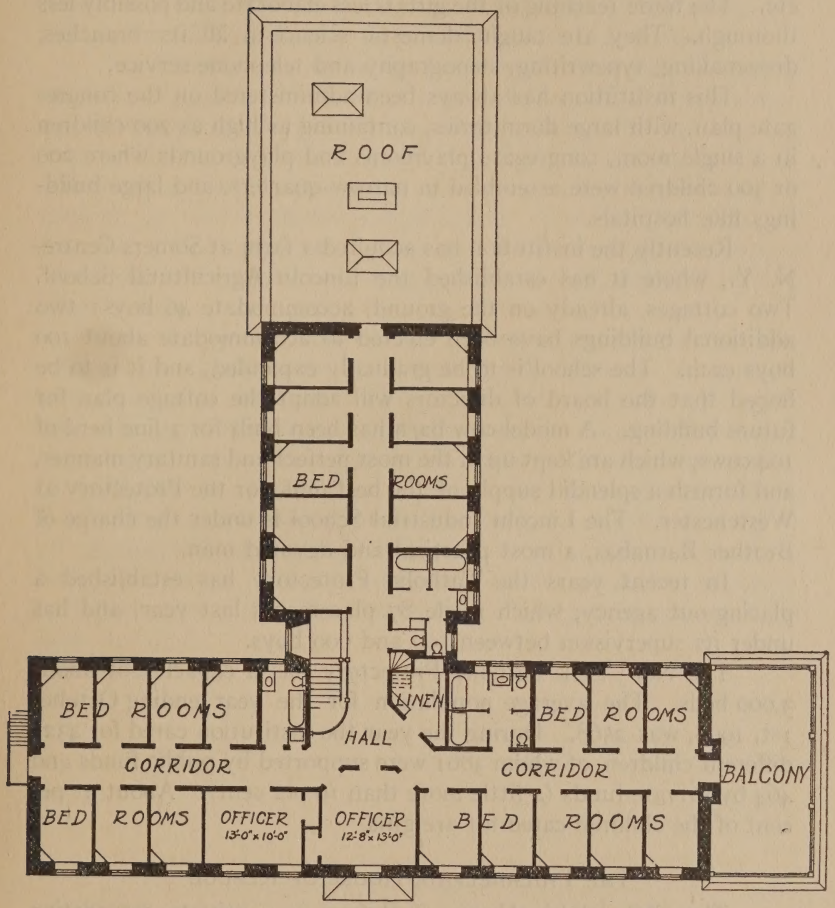
The largest institution of this class in the country, and, indeed, the largest institution for children in the world, is the New York Catholic Protectory, in Westchester County, near the city of New York.

The Catholic Protectory is admirably organized. The Brothers and Sisters appear to be devoted to their work, and the children appear healthy and well cared for. The industrial department is very efficiently organized. The boys are taught actual working trades, including the following: printing, book binding, electrotyping,



PHILADELPHIA HOUSE OF REFUGE FOR GIRLS, DARLING, PENNSYLVANIA
COTTAGE—FIRST-FLOOR PLAN

The first floor provides assembly room, dining room, kitchen, pantries, laundry, linen room, officers' sitting room, matron's room and six rooms for girls.



PHILADELPHIA HOUSE OF REFUGE FOR GIRLS, DARLING, PENNSYLVANIA
COTTAGE—SECOND-FLOOR PLAN

The second floor provides officers' rooms, linen rooms, bath rooms and 23 rooms for one girl each, making a total of 29 single rooms for girls. The institution being still incomplete, each room is now occupied by two girls, but this plan is intended to be temporary.

blacksmithing, carpentering, sign painting, house painting, plumbing, bricklaying, masonry, machine work, the wheelwright's trade and telegraphing. A few boys learn stationary engineering, electricity, etc. The trade teaching of the girls is less elaborate and possibly less thorough. They are taught domestic science in all its branches, dressmaking, typewriting, stenography and telephone service.

This institution has always been administered on the congregate plan, with large dormitories, containing as high as 200 children in a single room, congregate playrooms and playgrounds where 200 or 300 children were assembled in narrow quarters, and large buildings like hospitals.

Recently the institution has acquired a farm at Somers Centre, N. Y., where it has established the Lincoln Agricultural School. Two cottages, already on the ground, accommodate 40 boys; two additional buildings have been erected to accommodate about 100 boys each. The school is to be gradually expanded, and it is to be hoped that the board of directors will adopt the cottage plan for future building. A model cow barn has been built for a fine herd of 104 cows, which are kept up in the most perfect and sanitary manner, and furnish a splendid supply of the best milk for the Protectory at Westchester. The Lincoln Industrial School is under the charge of Brother Barnabas, a most practical and devoted man.

In recent years the Catholic Protectory has established a placing-out agency, which made 87 placements last year, and has under its supervision between 500 and 600 boys.

The New York Catholic Protectory has a capacity of about 3,000 beds. The average population for the year ending October 1st, 1908, was 2568. During the year the institution cared for 4325 different children, of whom 3861 were supported by public funds and 464 by private funds (a little more than 10 per cent). About 21 per cent of the children cared for are girls.

The Philadelphia House of Refuge

The Philadelphia House of Refuge is a private corporation supported mainly from the treasury of the state of Pennsylvania. It maintains the Boys' House of Refuge at Glen Mills and the Girls' House of Refuge at Darling. These two institutions are located upon farms each distant about twenty miles from Philadelphia.

Both of these institutions were formerly located in the city of Philadelphia, behind high walls, in narrow quarters, with ancient and ill-adapted buildings. Both of them now stand in the front

rank of the juvenile reformatories of the United States, being organized upon the cottage plan and being specially notable for the quality both of their official and subordinate force. The Boys' House of Refuge has a large number of separate playgrounds, and the boys are dealt with in small groups as far as practicable.

The Girls' House of Refuge is planned to provide a separate room for each girl; but the institution is in process of construction, and at the present time a part of the girls have to be kept two in a room. This institution is remarkable for the number of young women of college training who are found in the employes' force working for very moderate compensation. The chief drawback to this plan is that these young women are constantly being drafted off for service in other institutions and have to be replaced by new incumbents.

The semi-public method of the administration of juvenile reformatories involves a quasi partnership between the private corporation and the state. Its advocates maintain that this plan keeps the institutions out of politics and secures a more efficient and more human organization than is practicable in institutions entirely controlled by the state. The opponents of this method maintain that such a combination amounts essentially to a public subsidy of private institutions; that it tends to multiply institutions and to multiply inmates. They maintain that on the whole the tendency is rather to bring the private institutions into politics than to keep them out of it.

CHAPTER IV

THE GEORGE JUNIOR REPUBLIC

By FREDERICK ALMY,
Secretary, Charity Organization Society, Buffalo

IN a short paper, space cannot be spared for any physical description of the George Junior Republic. It is enough to say that it is a colony of about one hundred boys and fifty girls living on a tract of some 350 acres at Freeville, near Ithaca, in the state of New York, with scattered cottages and trade buildings and a handsome school at which boys and girls are fitted for college. The college idea is in the air at this "reformatory." About a dozen of its "graduates" have been graduated later at Harvard, Cornell and other leading universities. This fact alone illustrates its extraordinary departure from type.

Even more extraordinary is the fact that at the Republic boys and girls (and boys and girls, moreover, of wayward disposition) live together in what is practically a boarding school of a free type. A boarding school of any sort for boys and girls together is unusual. Yet Richter tells us that "to insure modesty he would advise the education of the sexes together, but that he would not guarantee anything in a school where girls, still less where boys, were alone together." At the Republic there have been serious incidents on this account, as there have been at co-educational colleges, but the experiment succeeds, and the moral tone of the place is wholesome. There is no thought of removing the girls.

Another remarkable fact, unmatched elsewhere among reformatories, is that graduates come back eagerly for re-unions, and that at the tenth anniversary of the Republic in 1904, 40 out of 239 ex-citizens came back to Freeville for the simple celebration and 20 others sent letters of regret. There is a great loyalty to the Republic, an *esprit de corps*, and a liberty which increases self-respect instead of crushing it. You find everywhere the level eye instead of down-cast glances, and in several cities there are alumni associations which meet regularly.

In 1895 when the Republic was started by William R. George, affectionately known as "Daddy," it received wide publicity in the weekly and monthly press. The fascinating principle of self-government by wayward boys and girls attracted attention all over America and Europe. It was agreed that there was value in the principle, but many predicted failure and still more claimed that the success was personally due to "Daddy George" and could not be imitated with safety. In 1908, however, the National Association of Junior Republics was formed in New York City. It includes besides the George Junior Republic at Freeville, N. Y., the Carter Republic at Redington, Pa., the National Republic at Annapolis Junction, Md., the George Junior Republic at Litchfield, Ct., the George Junior Republic of California at Chino, Cal., the George Junior Republic of Western Pennsylvania at Grove City, Pa., and the George Junior Republic of New Jersey at Flemington Junction, N. J. Besides these seven Republics which are in the National Association, there is a Republic at Allendale near Chicago, Ill., and the Ford Republic near Detroit, Mich., but these are not affiliated with the original Republic. There is also a Juvenile State near Athens, Ga., which is carried on, on similar principles, with two of the Freeville Republic boys as assistants. This is not a bad record considering the fact that the George Republic has until lately done little to encourage the formation of Republics elsewhere. Perhaps the chief success of the George Junior Republic is its undenied influence as a leaven in reformatory methods everywhere.

The Republic fails with "logy" boys, and with weak-willed boys who need to have habits formed by compulsion through military discipline. It succeeds with boys of keen but misguided ability, who have real power which has been ill-taught in the school of life, where punishment follows swiftly after the fault, and where the lessons of life are not learned too late to profit by them. The rehabilitation is often as swift as the punishment, and the stigma of a term of jail is not hard to live down in a community where most of the leaders have had that experience and found it salutary. Even the failures of justice at the hands of boy judges have a value in teaching social patience when the citizens graduate to the world outside.

Briefly, in this miniature town, labor is voluntary, but the motto on the coinage is "Nothing without labor," and food, clothes and lodging must all be paid for. As a boy speaker put it, in answer to a question, "Don't have to work? Why, we don't have to eat."

Five hours daily at school is compulsory, under a law passed by the citizens, and the working day in the regular trades is five hours. There is competent instruction in plumbing, printing, furniture-making, baking, laundry work, and scientific farming, and of course there are housework and odd jobs. Adult foremen, not citizens, superintend the trades, and there are house mothers in the cottages. All the laws are made by the citizens, with the least possible interference, and are enforced by officers elected by themselves from their own number. Women can vote and hold office, and the vice-president is usually a girl. The president has always been a boy. The superintendent can make, alter or veto any law, but rarely does so. Here are one or two of the laws:

VAGRANCY.—"Be it enacted by the citizens of the George Junior Republic that any citizen not having steady employment or five dollars in his possession and free from debt may be subject to arrest.

"Passed February 25, 1903."

JUDGE.—"Be it enacted by the citizens of the George Junior Republic that the President shall appoint a girl citizen to act as Judge in all cases against girls which are of such nature that they should not be tried in the regular court.

"Passed March 9, 1903."

THREATENED ARREST.—"Be it enacted by the citizens of the George Junior Republic that the threat on the part of any citizen of the Republic to arrest a person, and not carried out, shall constitute a misdemeanor.

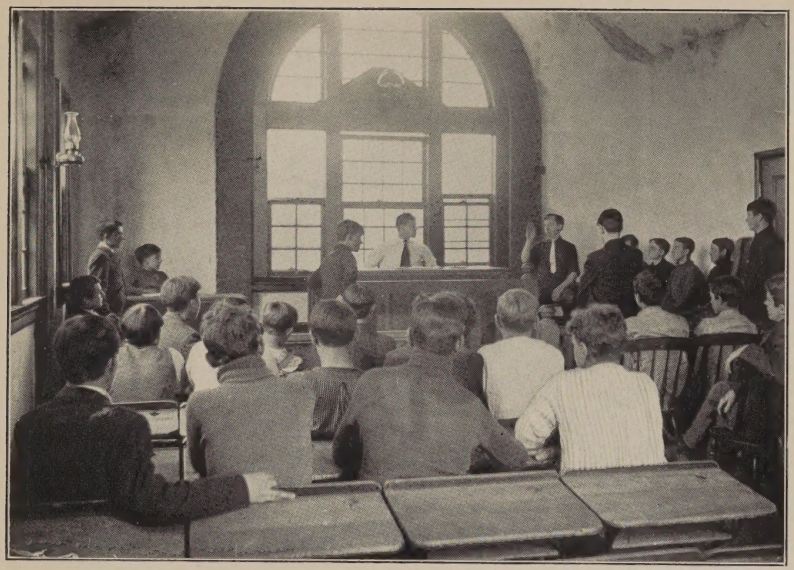
"Passed April 26, 1904."

HOURS OF LABOR.—"Be it enacted by the citizens of the George Junior Republic that there shall be no specified hours to constitute a day's work.

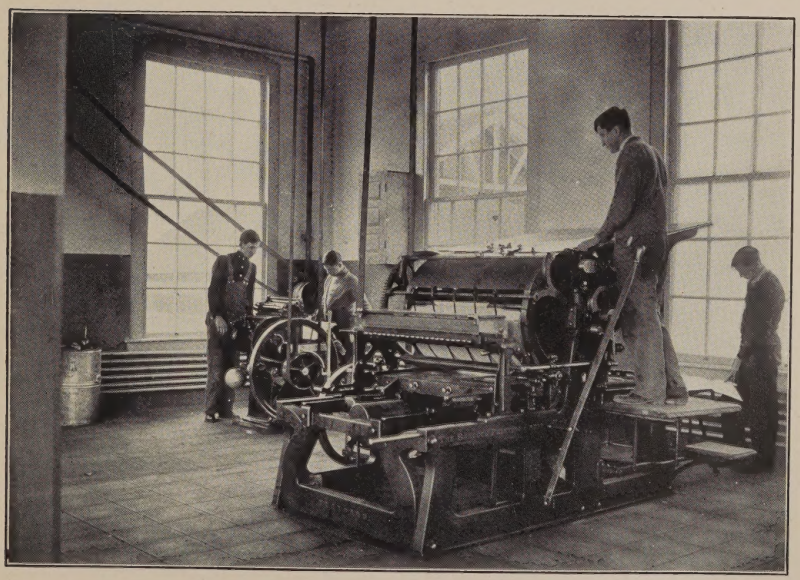
"Passed July 31, 1899."

This last law is famous in the annals of the Republic as a speedy repeal of an eight-hour day law, passed a day or two before, which had been enacted without special thought of girls' labor. As a consequence the girls cooked no suppers the next night because their eight-hour day was over. Then the youthful legislators saw their mistake. More than once the citizens have been allowed to entangle themselves seriously with tariff laws on outside products, currency laws, etc., and to learn by sad experience.

Experientia docet might almost be the motto of the Republic instead of "Nothing without labor." The exclusion of evil is the



Court in Session



The Republic Printing Office

Features of The George Junior Republic

method of the military school and of the reformatory of the military type. The Republic doctrine is that you cannot develop character in a cage. It is the principle of expression instead of repression which is the modern method of dealing with poverty also. When the poor want more, and want it more, they will have more, and through their own effort. This sounds like a dangerous gospel when applied

George Junior Republic.

The District Attorney of the George Junior Republic:

Officer _____ to-day arrested

_____, charged with _____

upon complaint of _____. The crime was committed

_____ 19__ by _____ at

_____ and the details are as follows:—

_____

_____

_____

_____

The witnesses for the State are as follows:—

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

Signed,

_____

Chief of Police George Junior Republic.

(If arrest was made with warrant, state so in details)

to vice, but vice is only perverted character, and if we can guide activity from crime to industry, and guide passions from lust to love, we may turn valuable forces into useful channels. Evil has many elements of good, which may perhaps be educed from the alloy. Do not compress the lower parts unnaturally, Chinese fashion, but let them grow and become a support for the whole body.

Much can be done with a boy through his affections, yet love is a force which the ordinary reformatory cannot sufficiently employ. At the Republic a boy finds a reformatory plus a settlement. This is not generally understood. "Daddy George's" winning personality is familiar, and has comforted many forlorn lives which needed human sunshine to make them expand and blossom, but few know how blessed the Republic has been in the many volunteer helpers who have been attracted by the charm of the place and by its opportunities. Few of our best known settlements have been so fortunate in this regard. The charming House-in-the-Woods, which two New York women have built close by the Republic as their permanent home, is also a home for the citizens of the Republic where beauty of life is taught without preaching. The president of the trustees, Thomas M. Osborne, is another illustration of the extraordinary group of men and women who serve the Republic with devotion. His home in Auburn is almost an annex of the Republic, and his democracy is illustrated there as well as in the state. A boy or girl in this community finds his good intentions so buttressed by the good opinions of good friends that he is ashamed to disappoint them.

Rollicking fun is another of the ingredients of the Republic prescription for curing diseased character. Rag-time music stunts, theatricals, foot-ball and base-ball teams which tour the country and beat all the surrounding high schools,—all these give an enthusiasm and a spirit which make the public opinion of the place very sensitive to any misbehavior which might discredit it. After the dignified inauguration ceremonies, at the inaugural ball, on Anniversary Day, the cheers are as spontaneous and as hearty as at Harvard and Yale.

This pride in the Republic may be a cause of what seems to many of its friends an overuse of their power by the boy judges and jurors. The imprisonments are too frequent and too long. The jail is the most notable building on the grounds, in location and in architecture, and is of a kind now generally condemned. Mr. George's answer to these criticisms is that the Republic does not pretend to even desire to be Utopian, but is a microcosm of real life, where the jail looms large before misdoers, as it does at Freeville.

There are other difficulties almost inseparable from the Republic system which call for consideration. The Republic has in a marked degree what the French call "les défauts de ses qualités." Under a system of liberty it was found that the older boys would cozen and cheat the little ones. Young boys are now not admitted, or if admitted are wards instead of full citizens. It is found also that

THE CITIZENS' STORE, GEORGE JUNIOR REPUBLIC

where boy contractors take the hotel privilege, the bakery business, etc., there is serious waste through inexperience, or through mismanagement. It is beginning to be felt that in many instances the character of the boy citizen is better developed by adult employers. Nearly all of the industries of the place are now in charge of adults. This leads to complicated questions of authority and to some clashing with the theory of boy government. The difficulties are being well worked out by the present superintendent, Mr. Derrick, and those who read the fourteenth annual report of the Republic, covering the year 1909, will find an interesting and clear statement of the demarcation between the citizen government and the adult government. The citizen government is, however, so substantial and genuine as to be a constant surprise to those who have seen fit to call it a "government by immature, amateur criminals."

The following is from the 1909 report of Mr. Derrick, just mentioned: "In addition to the citizens' court, there is a supreme court made up of three members of the board of trustees of the G. J. R. Association. All matters which cannot be adjusted in the lower court may be appealed to the supreme court.

"If a difficulty arises between a helper and a citizen it may be settled in the lower court provided the action is against the citizen, but if the citizen brings the action, the supreme court has original jurisdiction. To many people not familiar with the Republic and its affairs, it seems incredible, if not impossible, that a complete government can be carried on in this commonwealth by a community of young men and women not one of whom is twenty-one years of age. It is a popular fallacy that much of the direction of the government is given by the superintendent or other adults. This is entirely wrong. There is no place, no point, at which the superintendent, Mr. George or any other person save a citizen, enters into or interferes with the government of the citizens.

"It is true that the preamble of the Constitution gives the superintendent the power of veto over any bill proposed and passed by the citizen body, but it is also true that that power is almost never used. The superintendent and other helpers do not enter into discussions of bills about to become laws; they have nothing to do with the framing of such laws nor with the applying of the law."

The ordinary institution visitor will find that many of his tests will mislead him at Freeville. The faults there are on the surface instead of latent as is usual elsewhere; but surface merits, like cleanliness, order and discipline, can cover a multitude of sins. The

visitor will come across indolence, disorder and some very shabby clothes. There is so much liberty to go wrong that it seems sometimes almost as if the citizens were inoculated with faults in order to render them immune to these faults in later life. As has been said elsewhere,* "where the germ of pauperism or of vice cannot be killed, may there not be a treatment by anti-toxin;—by deliberately helping the poison to run its course in a mild form in order to prevent future attacks? It may be well to let a boy be idle and lazy for a time, and suffer all the consequences of hunger and cold; to let him be violent, and as a penalty be duly and severely punished by his peers; in fact, to give him a brief rehearsal of life under natural conditions which will be very profitable when life arrives in grim earnest. These same lessons are taught effectively in the military reformatory, but the more voluntary and natural the lesson is, and the more the child can be made to feel that he has chosen his own course and experienced its natural result, the deeper will be the impress on his life."

How far this bold treatment would succeed generally is uncertain. In a government institution, for instance, public opinion requires a surface correctness, and would hardly stand for letting disorder work itself out through self-government. Those who, like the writer, have been for a dozen years trustees of the George Junior Republic, and so privileged to visit it frequently and behind the veil, can testify that miracles are constantly enacted with boys and girls who have been pronounced hopeless. Some failures elsewhere have become judges and presidents in the Junior Republic, and since then valuable and public spirited citizens in the greater Republic outside. Whether or not new Junior Republics multiply, and whether or not the first Junior Republic endures, there can be no doubt that the world is permanently indebted to Mr. George and his associates for a demonstration to penologists and to many others that character is often better developed through liberty than through force.

* Proceedings Second New York State Conference of Charities, p. 284 (1901). Address by the writer.

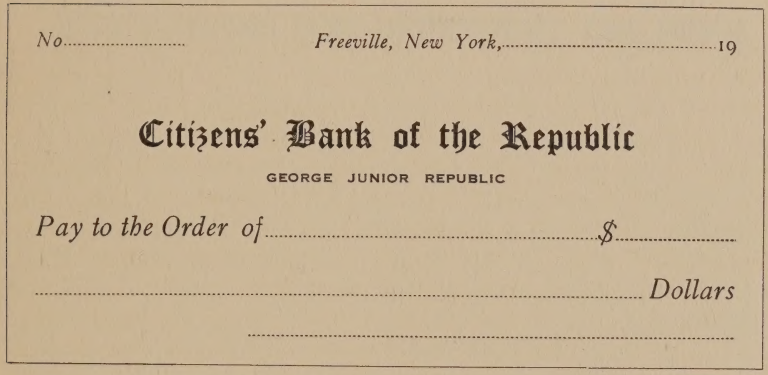
List of George Junior Republics in the Order of their Founding

Reported by Mr. William R. George, August 29, 1910.

Junior Republic at Freeville, New York.
Carter Republic at Redington, Pennsylvania.
National Republic at Annapolis Junction, Maryland.
George Junior Republic at Litchfield, Connecticut.
George Junior Republic of California at Chino, California.
George Junior Republic of Western Pennsylvania at Grove City, Pennsylvania.
George Junior Republic of New Jersey at Flemington Junction, New Jersey.

The above named republics are affiliated with the original George Junior Republic. There are several organizations similar in character which are not so affiliated. The following are reported:

Ford Republic, near Detroit, Michigan.
Allendale Farm at Lake Villa, Illinois.
Juvenile State near Athens, Georgia.


No..... *Freeville, New York,*.....19

Citizens' Bank of the Republic

GEORGE JUNIOR REPUBLIC

Pay to the Order of.....$.....

..... *Dollars*

.....

PART TWO
INSTITUTIONS FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN

CHAPTER V

PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

"STATE PUBLIC SCHOOLS"

IN 1866 the state of Massachusetts established a "State Primary School" at Monson. This school was organized for the temporary care of children who were wards of the state, who had previously been kept in the state almshouse. It grew until it reached a population of 537 children, but in 1868 the Massachusetts State Board of Charities initiated the plan of boarding out children in family homes, and also the plan of placing-out children in large numbers in "free homes" without payment of board. This plan was so successful that it was finally decided to close the school at Monson. Mr. Walter A. Wheeler was appointed superintendent, with the express understanding that his duty was to make the school unnecessary at the earliest possible date, and in 1894 the school was closed.

In 1871, Hon. C. D. Randall, state senator, introduced a bill in the Michigan state legislature, for the establishment of a State Public School, to provide for all children between the ages of three and sixteen years who would otherwise be sent to the county almshouse. The bill provided that the school should not be a permanent abiding place for children, but only a temporary resting place until they could be placed in carefully selected family homes. This bill became a law and the school was opened in 1874.

The Michigan State Public School was similar in its general plan to the Massachusetts State Primary School, but was broader in its scope and became a permanent institution. In connection with the state school a state agency was established for the purpose of finding homes and placing children. There was established also a county agency, and one agent in each county was appointed by the state board of charities. These county agents are required to look after the interests of dependent, neglected and delinquent children in their several counties, and are allowed compensation at the rate of $3.00 per day, to an amount not exceeding $100 per year in any county excepting Wayne County, in which the city of Detroit is located.

The Michigan State Public School had a capacity of about 300 children. When the school was opened there were about 600 children in the almshouses of the state. At the end of two years the school was full and the almshouses still contained several hundred children. Large-hearted legislators said, "This state school is an excellent thing; let us build another one."

Fortunately, wiser counsels prevailed. The placing-out system was carefully developed, and at the end of another two years all of the children of sound mind and body had been removed from the almshouses. The number of children in the state school gradually diminished, until it was reduced to about 200. The school has ever since cared for all of the dependent children of the state, who were not otherwise provided for, and the number in the school for many years past has been less than 200. The average annual expense has been about $35,000. The school does not undertake to bring up children, but only to prepare them by a brief training for family home life. State public schools on the Michigan plan have been built in the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin and Colorado. There is also a State Home and School in Rhode Island and a "State Orphanage" in Montana. The system is in high favor in Michigan and Minnesota. It has been less successful in Wisconsin, where neither the administration of the school nor the subsequent placing or watch-care of the children has been as thorough as in Michigan and Minnesota.

The real test of the state public school system is found in the fidelity with which the placing-out work is administered. The Minnesota State Public School now employs four placing-out agents and the Michigan school employs three. Experience has proved that it is necessary to keep in close touch with the children placed out in family homes, especially the older children, in order to insure their humane treatment and proper education, and also to protect them from the danger of being over-worked. In order to carry on the work of supervision efficiently, it is necessary to have competent agents who are able to observe with discrimination, to adjust difficulties between children and foster parents, and to exercise wisdom in the choice of homes.

SOLDIERS' ORPHANS' HOMES

Although the War of the Rebellion closed forty-five years ago, Soldiers' Orphans' Homes, for the care of orphans of the soldiers of the War of the Rebellion, are still maintained in the states of Maine, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Kansas.

A Complex Sociological Problem of the Kansas Childrens' Home Society

As a matter of fact, these soldiers' orphans' homes have become free boarding schools for the children of indigent soldiers. In most of them there is no adequate system of industrial training, reliance being placed, for the most part, upon the school of letters. As a rule, the children sent to the soldiers' orphans' homes are not taken from the guardianship of their parents, but are received with the consent of their parents, and are restored to their parents upon leaving the school.

In the states of Kansas, Iowa and Illinois, laws have been passed for the admission of dependent children other than the children of soldiers to the soldiers' orphans' homes, with a proviso in each case for the placing of such children in family homes if eligible. These laws have been for the most part inoperative, for the reason that the traditions of the soldiers' orphans' homes have not been favorable to the placing-out method. The practice of allowing the parents to retain guardianship, and to continue in communication with their children, does not work well with the placing-out system, for the reason that the parents, intentionally or otherwise, almost invariably create a divided interest, which is apt to lead sooner or later to the removal of the child from the foster home. This difficulty is obviated in Massachusetts by placing children in families on board, and requiring the parents, if able, to contribute toward the cost of board according to their ability.

The time is rapidly approaching when there will be no legitimate work for the soldiers' orphans' homes to do in behalf of soldiers' orphans. When that time comes, these schools should either be abolished or should be entirely reorganized along the lines of the Michigan and Minnesota schools.

In the state of Maine a law has been passed extending the privileges of the State Military and Naval Orphan Asylum to the grandchildren of soldiers of the War of the Rebellion. A little reflection will make it obvious that this plan is impractical, for the reason that if carried out to its logical conclusion it would mean, after a little, the extension of the public boarding school privilege to a large portion of the juvenile population of the state.

COUNTY CHILDREN'S HOMES

In 1866 the Ohio General Assembly authorized counties to establish county children's homes in order to remove children from the bad environment of the almshouses. The system grew rapidly

until in 1901 there were 51 county homes, containing 2,250 children. The law contemplated the use of the placing-out system in connection with these homes, but that branch of activity has never become very efficient. In 1889 a law was passed authorizing each county home to employ a placing-out agent, but very few such agents were appointed. In 1907 a law was passed requiring the children in county homes to be placed out, with the result that many children were removed from county homes by relatives who found means to provide for them when they learned that they were to be placed in families.

The Ohio children's home law requires that children be discharged at the age of sixteen, and the home authorities then lose guardianship, unless the child has been previously indentured or adopted. That means that the backward, wayward, or defective child, who most needs friendly watch-care, loses it at a critical age.

Indiana followed Ohio in adopting the county children's home system. That state established 47 county children's homes, which had, in 1901, 1,633 children. Indiana experienced difficulties similar to those of Ohio. These difficulties were partly met, first, by the establishment of county boards of guardians to be responsible for county wards, and, second, by the establishment of a state agency, as a department of the state board of charities, with authority to place in family homes inmates of county children's homes at their discretion. The result of this law has been a diminished number of children in county homes, partly by placing out and partly through removal by friends. As a result eight or ten county homes have already been closed and the closing of others is impending.

The Indiana state agency has not only the supervision of children placed by it and by county boards of guardians, but has also supervision of children placed in family homes by private agencies. Similar supervision is exercised by state boards of charities or state boards of control in New York, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and perhaps some other states.

The state of Connecticut adopted the county-home system in 1882, and has experienced difficulties similar to those experienced in Ohio and Indiana. Mr. Homer Folks says, in his book on the Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children: "The county-home system has been fairly and fully tried and has been found wanting."

CHAPTER VI

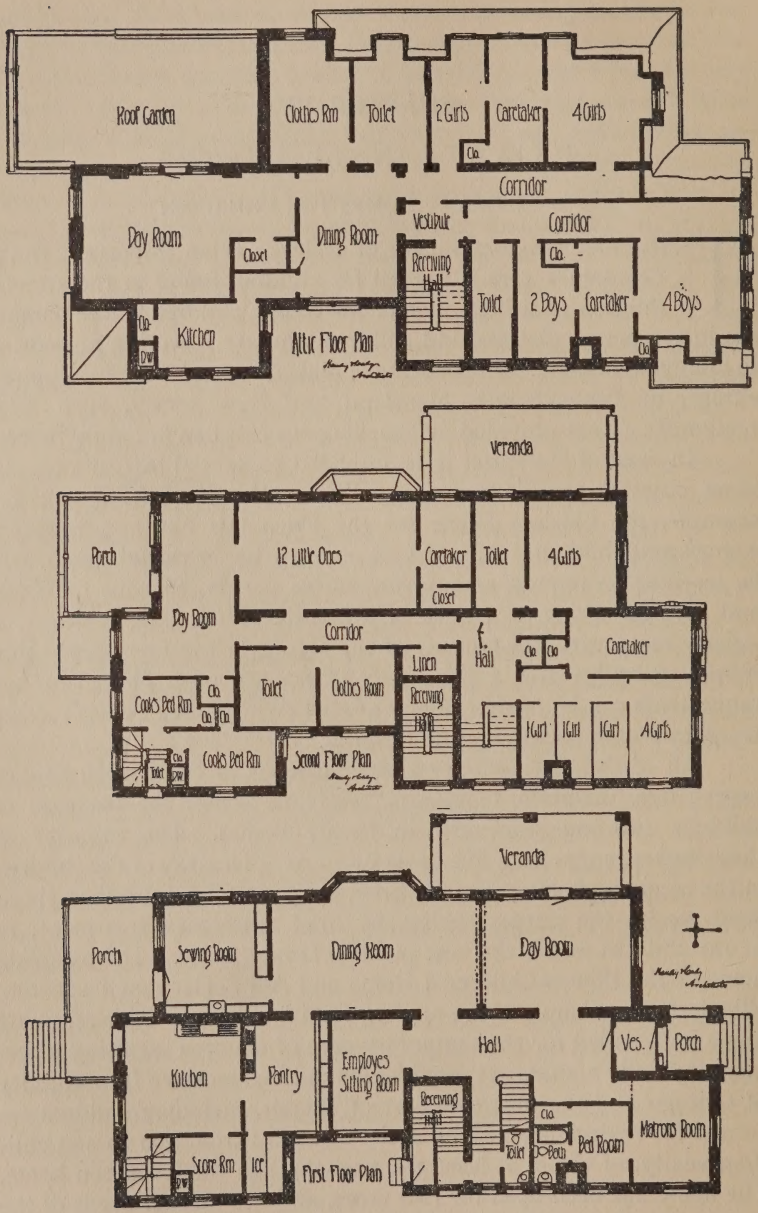
PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS

TEMPORARY HOMES FOR CHILDREN

THE brief temporary care of children is an important duty. Temporary care is needed for children found in the streets, children awaiting action of the courts, children whose parents are in temporary distress, and children who are awaiting placement in family homes, etc. In the state of Massachusetts, and, to a limited extent, in Pennsylvania, Maryland and New Jersey, such brief temporary care is provided by boarding out children in family homes.

In most of the states it is provided by special institutions. In some cities this work is done by "homes for the friendless"; for example, the Chicago Home for the Friendless has 300 beds for women and children. Any girl, or any boy under twelve years, will be received on request of any responsible person, without red tape, and kept for a day or a week or a month. Such care, however, is strictly temporary, the purpose of the Home for the Friendless being simply to bridge over a temporary emergency until permanent arrangements can be made. Many mothers with young babies receive temporary care on leaving the hospital.

All of the 30 Children's Home societies in the United States, except five, maintain temporary receiving homes for the care of children awaiting placement in family homes. The capacity of these homes ranges from five or six up to 50. The stay of the children in the receiving home is usually brief, not averaging more than six or eight weeks, the purpose being, by brief temporary treatment, to fit the child to secure the best possible family home. The receiving home of the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, at Evanston, Illinois, is an example of the modern receiving home. This receiving home is intended for the temporary care of children awaiting placement in family homes. It provides for children received from the city of Chicago and the northern part of Illinois, including children returned for replacement. The society handles from 400 to 500 children yearly, of whom at least 300 pass through the Evanston home. The home has been open for two years, and has met all needs of the society thus far. It is conveniently located on a piece of ground about



EVANSTON RECEIVING HOME—FLOOR PLANS

150 by 180 feet, which will probably be increased so as to make it 200 to 225 by 180 feet.

A separate cottage furnishes adequate accommodations for 16 boys from five years old and upward. A larger cottage has accommodations for 36 children. It was at first intended to provide for only 24 children in the larger cottage and to build a separate receiving cottage for the incoming children, but it was finally decided to put the receiving ward on the top of the house. The cottage was built fire-proof, and a third story was added containing accommodations for 12 incoming children. These accommodations consist of a roof garden 17 by 31 feet; a large, airy day room; a dining room comfortably accommodating 14 persons; a well-equipped kitchen with gas range; a small surgery, with medicine closet and instruments for minor operations; separate bathrooms for boys and girls; two small dormitories for girls, containing two and four beds respectively, with care-taker's room between; two small dormitories for boys, containing beds for two and four boys respectively, with care-taker's room between; two separate corridors for the two sexes.

This receiving ward provides adequate accommodations for the segregation, medical care and study of 12 children under the care of a trained nurse, with a helper. The stairway from the receiving ward opens out-of-doors, and does not connect with the rest of the house. Food is brought by a dumb waiter from the general kitchen on the first floor; but in case of contagious or infectious disease, the dumb waiter can be sealed up and a separate cook provided for the receiving ward.

On the second floor is a dormitory for 12 little children from one to five years of age, with large, cheerful playroom, large outside porch for stormy weather, baths, clothes room, lockers, etc. On the first floor is a sitting room for 12 older girls from five to twelve years of age, on the same floor with the dining room, kitchen and sewing room. These girls have their sleeping rooms on the second floor, consisting of two dormitories for four girls each, and three single rooms. It would be better if there were a single room for each of the 12 girls. This receiving home thus accommodates 52 children, divided into groups of from 12 to 16 children. There is an entire absence of institutional organization, dress or formality. Each group is a little family by itself, and each child is dealt with according to his individual needs.

Each child upon admission receives a most minute medical

examination, more elaborate than would be required for life insurance. The physician seeks, first, to discover every physical defect, and then to put the child in as perfect physical condition as possible, with the co-operation of the best medical, surgical and dental skill, and with the constant service of a trained nurse. At the same time the matron and the teacher are at work to improve the child's morals, manners and language. In these ways the child is fitted to secure a much better family home than would otherwise be possible. It is astonishing to see the amount of improvement which can be wrought in the condition of a neglected waif by a few weeks of such expert and painstaking care.

Many of the societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, and the humane societies, which work for the prevention of cruelty to children, maintain "shelters," which provide brief temporary care. Of these, the most elaborate are those of the New York and Philadelphia societies for the prevention of cruelty to children.

Temporary receiving homes are maintained by the New York Children's Aid Society at Valhalla, New York, and by the Seybert Foundation of Philadelphia. The latter home is available for the wards of the Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society.

The children's aid societies of Boston and Baltimore, and most of the 23 county societies which form the Western Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society, do not maintain receiving homes, but use family boarding homes for the temporary care of children, as well as their permanent care. This practice is followed also by the children's home societies of Nebraska, Kansas, North Carolina and South Carolina. Some of these societies maintain that the same objections which apply to the use of institutions for the permanent care of children, apply also to their use for temporary care.

The advocates of the temporary receiving home, on the other hand, maintain that the brief work of preparing children for family homes is an expert work, and that it can be performed to better advantage if the child can be kept under the immediate watch-care of physician, nurse, trained matron and teacher. The average stay of children in most of these receiving homes is very brief. The average stay of children in the Evanston Home of the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, is not more than five or six weeks.

Detention Homes

In most of the large cities where juvenile courts exist, detention homes are provided for the brief temporary care of children

awaiting the action of the juvenile court. These detention homes were instituted to obviate the necessity for sending children to county jails and police stations. The juvenile court laws usually provide that no child under a prescribed age shall be kept in any county jail, lock-up, or police station where other prisoners are kept, but that there shall be provided some suitable place apart from any prison enclosure, for the temporary care of children awaiting action of the juvenile court.

In the city of Chicago, the juvenile court committee, composed of women, rented a private residence and fitted it up for use as a detention home. An adjoining stable was reconstructed to serve for the detention of the older boys. Subsequently the county built a court house for the juvenile court, in the upper part of which is a detention home which provides for the separation of boys and girls, and also for the separation of dependent from delinquent children.

In the city of Denver the detention home is in a dwelling house. The boys are in charge of the manager and his wife. The Denver detention home not only serves as a place of temporary care for children awaiting the action of the court, but it is also used for the longer detention and training of some children who have passed through the juvenile court.

ORPHAN ASYLUMS, CHILDREN'S HOMES, ETC.

By the "orphan asylum system" is meant the bringing up of children from childhood to young manhood or womanhood, in an asylum or a children's home. For many years this was regarded as the most desirable system of dealing with neglected children. If a child was left orphaned, abandoned or homeless, the idea prevailed that a substitute must be provided for the home, and it was believed by many that the substitute could be made better than the real article.

In 1896 a very enthusiastic woman came to the National Conference of Charities and Correction at Grand Rapids, from the state of Kansas. She said: "We are engaged in the state of Kansas in building up the greatest institution for girls that ever was seen. We have a large farm, and we expect ultimately to provide for five thousand girls." She said, "the ordinary mother is not fit to bring up a girl. These mothers do not understand the principles of child-study and child culture and child nurture, and all that sort of thing, but we expect to have in our institution in Kansas, choice, select,

ideal women for matrons and nurses and care-takers and teachers, and we are going to bring up a new race of women to become the mothers of the next generation." Several years later the writer received a letter from that same woman, and discovered that she was in Indiana in charge of a home for old people. That ideal institution, which was to be so much superior to the ordinary family home, had failed to materialize.

But the orphan asylum idea is not to be lightly dismissed. It can be defended by good argument. The defenders of the orphan asylum system say: "In the ordinary family home the child is often at a great disadvantage. His environment is unfavorable. The neighborhood may be thoroughly bad. The daily journey to and from school may lead past saloons and other places of evil resort. The mother may be lazy, slatternly and shiftless. The father may be drunken, vicious, improvident. The child may be forced into corrupting associations and influences. In the institution, however, we are able to control absolutely the child's environment. We can create ideal sanitary conditions; we can have perfect drainage, perfect cleanliness and perfect ventilation. We can select his school teacher and his Sunday School teacher. We can bring to bear upon him the most helpful and elevating influences. The boy will never play truant, he will never be out with a gang, he will never be late to school. Under these circumstances, why should we not be able to produce satisfactory results?"

The difficulty which stands in the way is institutionalism. In a great institution like the New York House of Refuge, with 700 boys, or Girard College, with 1700 boys, or the Catholic Protectory, with 2700 children, the child is lost in the mass. He is one of a multitude. It is almost impossible to give him that personal attention which is essential to the normal development of a child, or to give opportunity for such development. The child lacks initiative; he lacks courage; he lacks power to act for himself. In the institution someone else is doing his thinking for him, someone else is planning his life for him; and when he goes out into the world, he goes at a disadvantage. The boy or girl finds it exceedingly difficult to become adapted to the environment of the family home. He misses the movement, the excitement, the stir of the institution. He grows homesick and despondent.

Institutional life is contrary to the child's nature. No one recognizes the evils of institutionalism more fully than those who are in charge of the institutions, and they have made faithful efforts to

overcome its disadvantages. This is seen in the nomenclature of institutions. We no longer build "asylums" for the deaf and blind; we build "schools" for the deaf and blind. We no longer build "reform schools" and "houses of refuge" for delinquent children; we build a "training school" or a "Lyman School for Boys," or a "St. Charles School for Boys." We no longer build orphan asylums; we build "children's homes." We no longer house children in great buildings like summer hotels, nor do we build institutions with dormitories where 200 girls sleep in a single room; but we build cottages, with "house fathers" and "house mothers," and gather the children in smaller groups.

All of this change represents a reaction against institutionalism. But with it all there is a constant difficulty in keeping clear of the tendency to institutionalism. In some institutions this tendency seems to be altogether overcome. Read, for example, Dr. R. R. Reeder's delightful story of How Two Hundred Children Live and Learn,* and you may discover how the individuality and the initiative of children may be preserved, even where they are brought together in large groups. Read Mr. G. W. Hinckley's Story of Good Will Farm in Maine, and see how boys can be kept in households, with 15 boys in a family, and can live and learn together.

But neither Dr. Reeder nor Mr. Hinckley would claim that they have found the universal solvent for the problem of the neglected child. Both of them would earnestly favor the use of the family home for the care of neglected children as far as possible; but these men, and others like them, are doing a splendid work in bringing out the highest possibilities of institutional life, and the father and mother of the ordinary home can learn lessons of wisdom from their writings. The chief moral to be learned from their teachings is that the success of the institution depends upon the spirit of the superintendent, and it is recognized now, as never before, that only wise, large hearted and well-trained men and women are fit for that high responsibility.

One of the most encouraging signs of the times is the eagerness with which those who are about to assume responsibility as superintendents of institutions for children are seeking information which will better qualify them to discharge the new trust. Only a few years ago the popular idea was that anyone would do for superintendent of an orphan asylum or a children's home: a superannuated clergyman,

* Reeder: How Two Hundred Children Live and Learn. New York, Charities Publication Committee, 1909.

a worn-out schoolmaster, a man who had failed in business, or any kindly and well-disposed woman, was just the person to be placed in charge of an orphan asylum. That day is past, and conscientious trustees are now searching the country to find competent superintendents. They are beginning to exercise the same kind of care that would be exercised in selecting a school superintendent or a high school principal.

There is a strong reaction from the big orphan asylum idea. One by one the great city orphan asylums, as their property becomes valuable and they are circumscribed by the increasing density of the population, are moving into the country and are building new institutions with smaller units and a freer life. At the same time, the managers of orphan asylums are recognizing more and more the value of family home life. For generations many children have been placed in family homes from orphan asylums, but it is only within a comparatively recent period that the orphan asylums have systematized their child-placing work.

About thirty years ago the managers of the Cleveland Protestant Orphan Asylum became dissatisfied with their methods. They had a small institution with accommodations for about 80 children. They began advertising in the religious papers of the Central States for homes for children. In one year they received 1200 applications and placed about 100 children. From that time on they followed the plan of placing their children in family homes, thereby multiplying the number of children who could be admitted to the privileges of the asylum.

The great difficulty in the use of the placing-out system by small orphan asylums is that such asylums cannot afford to maintain adequate agencies. If children are placed nearby, opportunity is given for disreputable parents to pursue and interfere with their children, and also for unhappy family histories to cloud the future of the child. If children are scattered over a wide area, as they should be, the expense of adequate supervision for a small number of children becomes prohibitive. This difficulty has been met in New Jersey, California, New York and Maine, by co-operation between the orphan asylums. In California the "Children's Agency" was organized several years ago under the auspices of the Associated Charities of San Francisco. This agency finds homes and watches over children for each of the co-operating institutions.

In New Jersey, in 1903, the Catholic Children's Aid Association was organized by Rev. Father Francis Foy. This association acts as the placing-out agent of nine institutions for children. In five years it placed 458 children in foster homes, and 789 children in

homes of relatives. In 1908 it placed 105 children in foster homes, and 225 in homes of relatives. In New York the Catholic Home Bureau acts as agent for a considerable number of orphan asylums. Its work is similar to that of the Children's Aid Association of New Jersey. The Maine Children's Committee, organized in 1909, was a co-operative committee composed of representatives of most of the orphan asylums and children's homes of the state of Maine. The committee investigates homes and visits children on request of any of the constituent institutions, and is gradually becoming an efficient child-placing agency.

There is an increasing disposition toward co-operation on the part of orphan asylums and other child-helping agencies. This disposition has been illustrated by the organization of the children's bureaus of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Detroit and Baltimore, all of which are joint co-operative agencies of the different child-helping organizations.

The special report of the Census Bureau on Benevolent Institutions, published in 1904, gives a list of more than 1,000 orphan asylums and children's homes. It is entirely impossible, within the limits of this volume, to go into any detail with reference to this great number of institutions. In Part Three we have given some details with reference to 26 of them.

CHILDREN IN ORPHAN ASYLUMS AND CHILDREN'S HOMES

	Inmates per 100,000 of population		*Inmates per 100,000 of population*
The United States	112.6		
District of Columbia	321.4	Minnesota	62.4
New York	317.3	North Carolina	61.7
California	290.8	Washington	60.7
New Hampshire	229.4	Wisconsin	57.2
Delaware	203.5	Oregon	55.7
Connecticut	188.7	Vermont	51.9
Ohio	175.1	South Carolina	50.9
Maryland	172.5	New Mexico	50.2
Rhode Island	161.4	Iowa	48.9
Pennsylvania	153.6	Virginia	48.2
Nevada	132.3	Georgia	46.5
Massachusetts	129.0	Tennessee	40.3
Louisiana	126.4	Kansas	38.1
New Jersey	124.6	Nebraska	36.8
Montana	114.7	Texas	31.0
Indiana	110.1	Alabama	28.6
Colorado	108.8	South Dakota	23.7
Illinois	99.4	Florida	20.1
Missouri	81.7	West Virginia	18.9
Maine	80.2	North Dakota	18.0
Utah	75.6	Mississippi	16.2
Michigan	65.6	Arkansas	12.7
Kentucky	65.0	Oklahoma	8.8

The census report above referred to gives the ratio of children in orphan asylums and children's homes for each state of the union. These ratios are somewhat unreliable for the reason that some large and important institutions are omitted because their population is partly dependent and partly delinquent. In this way a portion of the orphan asylums has been left out. The figures, therefore, are, if anything, below the facts.

It is an interesting fact that in the District of Columbia, the state of New York and the state of California, where the highest ratio of children in institutions is found, the policy of liberal donations of public funds to private institutions prevails. A high ratio is found also in Connecticut and Ohio, where the county children's home system has prevailed without check, but a decreasing rate in Indiana, where the state has taken radical steps for placing the inmates of county children's homes in families.

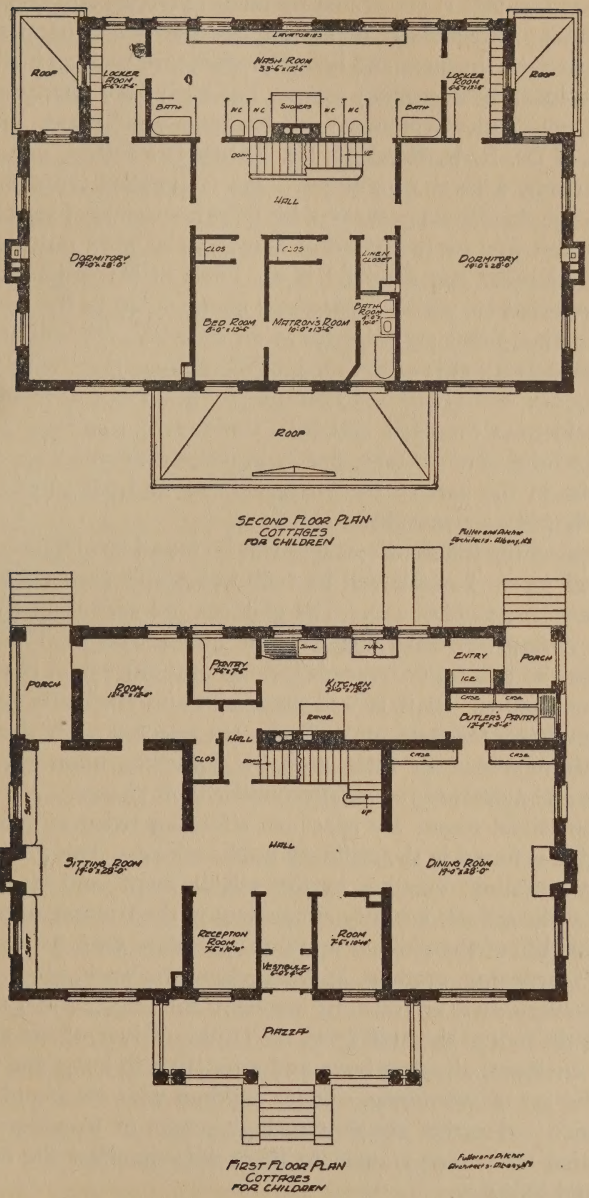
Many orphan asylums still cling to the ancient policy of bringing up children to manhood and womanhood, and to ancient methods of building and administration; but a very large number have broken away from their ancient traditions, and have ceased to bring up children. They have either entered actively into the placing of children in family homes, or they have become temporary refuges for half-orphans and other children needing temporary care.

Some examples of the modern type of orphan asylums are the New York Orphanage at Hastings-on-Hudson, the Albany Orphanage at Albany, New York, the Cleveland Protestant Orphan Asylum, the Cincinnati Children's Home, the Rose Orphan Asylum at Terre Haute, Indiana, the Chicago Orphan Asylum and the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylums at St. Paul and Minneapolis. Orphan asylums of the modern type are numerous through the Middle West.

There still survive orphan asylums where children are kept in uniform, with shaved heads; where they do not have individual clothing, but have clothing distributed to them promiscuously from week to week; where lice and bedbugs prevail; where food is meager and of inferior quality; where good and willing girls are kept scrubbing floors month after month because they do not complain; where sleeping rooms are insanitary; where thin straw beds let the tender bodies down upon hard wooden slats; where cuffs and abuse are more freely distributed than kind words.

But on the other hand there are children's homes and orphan asylums where tenderness and love prevail; where mirth and jollity are contagious; where weary heads find a pillow on gentle bosoms;

The Albany Orphan Asylum. A Modern Cottage Institution



ALBANY ORPHAN ASYLUM—FLOOR PLANS

where generous diet is prescribed by medical advice and served with liberal hands; where foster homes are constantly sought as a better haven than even the good and homelike shelter of such an institution.

The ideal of an orphan asylum has been very nearly attained in the New York Orphanage at Hastings-on-Hudson, under the direction of Dr. R. R. Reeder. Dr. Reeder is a father, a teacher, a social student, a lover of children. He is supplied with abundant means to provide for every want of his large household of 200 children, and he is left free by his board of managers to work out his ideals. What Dr. Reeder has attained is set forth in his delightful book, already referred to, which is earnestly commended to the reading of every superintendent and director of an institution for children.

The institution is established on the cottage plan, with cheerful sitting rooms, well-ventilated dormitories, small dining rooms and a separate kitchen for each cottage. Children of different ages are assigned to the same cottage, partly in order that the older children may assist in the care of the younger ones and partly in order to create a homelike atmosphere.

Around the different cottages will be found flowerbeds, chicken coops and pets. Nearby will be found vegetable gardens, beehives, rabbit hutches, stables, etc. The children are encouraged to carry on such enterprises according to their individuality. The institution lacks the painful orderliness indoors and out which is visible in many institutions, yet it is well organized and efficiently managed. The caretakers, teachers and officers are selected with the utmost care with reference to their probable influence upon the minds, manners and morals of the children under their charge.

The school rooms are spacious, affording twice as much room per child as is found in the ordinary public school. This plan permits proper ventilation, exercise in the school room and comfortable seating. The schools are only an incident in the training of the child. The whole life of the child is made to articulate with his education; farming, gardening, grading, building, domestic work, play, environment of every sort, are skilfully wrought into educational material.

At the foot of the bluff flows the Hudson River, where a bathing place is enclosed, allowing boys and girls alike to learn and practice the joyful art of swimming. Older children who are found capable of advanced education are sent to high school or to college; every educational advantage is open to those who manifest the necessary talent and industry.

The evils of "institutionalism" are practically absent from this

beautiful institution, and already its influence is being felt upon the orphan asylums and children's homes of the United States; but it is not to be expected that Dr. Reeder will become the founder of a system, for two reasons: first, a lack of money, and second, a lack of Reeders. The average cost per child is about $5.00 per week, which is about double the expense in the ordinary orphan asylum. This fact does not imply extravagance, but it does imply a higher standard than can be generally maintained with the means available.

In most of the states of the Union there is now a sufficient supply of orphan asylums to meet the actual needs for a generation to come, and orphan asylum managers will be wise if they address themselves to the improvement of the quality of their equipment and methods and the improvement of their employe force rather than the effort to increase the number of their wards.

Several states, like New York and Illinois, have forbidden the incorporation of new institutions or societies for the care of children until the judgment of the state board of charities has been obtained with reference to the need for such an institution and the probability of its being able to meet that need. Many unfortunate mistakes would have been saved had this wise provision been in force. The directors of a children's home in Indiana, whose capacity had been doubled against the advice of the state board of charities, made a pathetic appeal for advice as to how they might fill up their vacant wards and thus reduce the alarmingly high per capita cost of maintenance. They had entirely overlooked the fact that the supply of children's homes in Indiana is in excess of the needs, so that a considerable number of children's homes have gone out of business and others are sure to follow.

The writer does not share the views of those who believe that the institution for dependent children should be entirely eliminated. He believes that there is a legitimate field for a certain amount of temporary institutional work for some dependent children; but no intelligent student of dependent childhood can overlook the fact that the trend of public opinion and the tendency in practice is away from the plan of bringing up children in institutions and in favor of the largest possible use of the family home as the natural and divinely established institution for the homeless child. This fact was made clearly manifest at the remarkable White House Conference (see Chapter XXVII) which was held at Washington in 1909, but it had previously been made clear in the discussions of the National Conference of Charities and Correction from 1872 onward.

TEMPORARY CARE OF CHILDREN WHOSE PARENTS ARE IN TEMPORARY DISTRESS

There is in the United States a large number of institutions whose chief work it is to provide temporary care for the children of parents who are in temporary distress. This care may last for a few weeks or months, or may extend through years. With the gradual development of the placing-out method of caring for children, there has been a tendency for orphan asylums to devote themselves more and more to this class of work. Such institutions as the Cleveland Protestant Orphan Asylum, the Chicago Orphan Asylum, the Chicago Half-Orphan Asylum, the St. Paul Protestant Orphan Asylum, and multitudes of others, are devoted chiefly to this kind of work. In many of these institutions the parents are encouraged to contribute according to their ability, toward the cost of the care of their children, paying $2.00 per week, or $1.00 per week or 50 cents per week, according to their ability. In such cases the parents are usually allowed to visit their children and maintain the parental relation.

It is probably true that the majority of the orphan asylums and children's homes in the central states have become largely children's boarding houses, devoting themselves to this line of work. Some institutions of this class, like the Glenwood School for Boys at Chicago, give high-class industrial training. Others, like the Good Will Farm at Hinckley, Maine, and the Chaddock School for Boys at Quincy, Illinois, are boarding schools where parents of small means can secure excellent training for their children at such rates as they are able to pay. There can be no question as to the value of this form of help to struggling parents.

INDUSTRIAL AND MANUAL TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN (NOT REFORMATORIES)

It is unfortunate that the term industrial school has come to be associated in the minds of many people with juvenile reformatories. This result has come about from a commendable effort to free the institutions for delinquent children from the odium which attaches in the minds of many people to the term reformatory. Juvenile reformatories were known first as houses of refuge; when that term became opprobrious, they were called reform schools; when that term in turn became obnoxious, the name industrial school was used; when that name became offensive, they were called training schools.

Later on, the name of an individual was attached to the school, as the John Worthy School or the Lyman School for Boys. More recently the practice has prevailed of naming the school from its locality, as the St. Charles School for Boys.

The effort to escape from the opprobrium which attaches to the idea of a school for bad boys or bad girls can only be successful by establishing such a spirit among the pupils and the employes of these schools as will create a favorable impression upon the public mind. The public feeling toward an institution will depend, in the long run, upon the standards which are established and the success of the institution in creating character. The term industrial school exactly describes a class of institutions most important for the welfare both of dependent and delinquent children. The opportunities which they bring ought not to be restricted to children of any one class.

Examples of industrial schools for neglected children (not delinquent) are found in Girard College, Philadelphia; the Illinois Industrial Training School Farm at Glenwood, in the suburbs of Chicago, and St. Mary's Training School for Boys at Feehanville, Illinois. Examples of similar institutions for girls are the Illinois Industrial School for Girls, at Chicago, the Samuel Ready School for Girls at Baltimore, etc.

In the city of New York, the New York Children's Aid Society maintains 21 industrial schools for children who cannot attend the public schools. These are day schools, but in most of them hot dinners are furnished for such children as are not properly fed at home. These New York schools differ essentially from the schools above mentioned, which are boarding schools.

There is general agreement on the proposition that industrial training should be maintained in schools for delinquent boys, but it is an open question whether it is desirable to undertake systematic industrial training in institutions for neglected boys who are not delinquent. The general trend of public opinion at the present time is against bringing up such boys in institutions, and in favor of getting them out early into family homes. Systematic industrial training for boys under the age of thirteen and fourteen years is impracticable. They can be benefited by sloyd and by some general instructions in the use of tools; but they are not old enough for scientific technological training or effective trade teaching. The effort to give such instruction tends to the keeping of such boys in institutions for a longer period than is generally considered desirable.

On the other hand, there is a decided tendency toward the establishment of industrial schools for the training of a limited number of neglected girls who do not belong to the delinquent class. The need of such schools is recognized by some of those who are earnest advocates of the system of placing children in family homes for the greater part of the dependent class. It is the general testimony of those who have had experience in placing girls in family homes, that while the great majority of the little girls who are carefully placed and faithfully supervised grow up to good womanhood like young girls in other families, there is always a portion of these girls who become a most anxious problem to those who are responsible for them.

A girl may be well placed in a family home, and may do well for years. When she reaches the age of fourteen or fifteen years she becomes restless, uneasy, discontented. She chafes under restraint, desires more liberty, wants to choose her own associates and her own recreations. She wants to go out at night. She craves pretty clothes and admiration. Perhaps she is the recipient of flattering and dangerous attentions from some young man. The situation is often complicated by the disturbing suggestions of meddlesome neighbors or thoughtless young people, who stimulate her discontent by criticizing her foster parents. The girl is not vicious, she does not want to do anything wrong, but she is in a critical and dangerous situation. She is giddy, headstrong, easily influenced. She needs to be kept safe for a year or two, until she comes to herself, and in the meantime she ought to receive such training as will either enable her to support herself or will make her a more efficient housewife and mother. It is for this class of girls that industrial schools are now demanded.

The number of girls requiring such training is not necessarily large. The Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, which has under its care some 800 or 900 girls, is now opening an industrial school at Potomac, Ill., for 30 to 50 girls of the class above mentioned. The effort has been made to provide for such girls by placing them in family homes, either on wages or, in special cases, on payment of board. The difficulty is that when a girl becomes headstrong and discontented it is difficult to keep her entirely safe in any family home. She unavoidably comes in contact with the butcher's boy and the baker's boy, the hired man and the neighbors' sons. With discriminating selection of homes, and wise and efficient supervision, most of the older girls can be safely kept in family homes, but it must be conceded that there is justification for temporary institutional care for this particular class of girls.

In nearly every orphan asylum and children's home which accepts girls there will be found a number of older girls of the class here described. In many cases they are girls who have been tried in one or more family homes and have been returned because of inefficiency, restlessness, discontent, sauciness, etc. Usually these girls will be found working in the institutions for small wages or without wages. Theoretically they are receiving industrial training. Practically very few of them receive an all-round training such as would enable them to become efficient housekeepers. The effort to give children industrial training in connection with the ordinary domestic work of an institution is invariably unsatisfactory. The tendency of this method is to keep girls who are tractable and willing and also to keep them employed along those lines where they are found most efficient.

If the girls are efficient, tractable and well behaved, they should be put out in good family homes where they will learn to do for themselves. If on the other hand their disposition is such that they cannot be safely placed in family homes, then they should be placed where they will receive a really efficient and thorough training, such as will enable them to provide for themselves later on. This can only be done in institutions where the industrial training is the principal undertaking of the school.

FOUNDLING HOMES AND INFANT ASYLUMS

Foundling homes and infant asylums exist in many cities. The largest of these is the New York Foundling Asylum, which had under its care September 30th, 1907, 1726 children. At the same time the New York Infant Asylum was caring for 587 children. These institutions affect the problem of delinquency in two ways: first, in their effect upon the future of the exposed or abandoned child; second, in their effect upon the young mothers, many of whom are themselves little more than children, and may be fairly classed among juvenile delinquents.

It is now pretty generally conceded that the mothers of illegitimate children should be encouraged and required to meet their maternal obligations as far as practicable, both for the sake of the child and for the sake of the mother. It is agreed that the *tour* which permitted the mother of an unwanted child to dispose of it without disclosing her identity, is a distinct encouragement to immorality, and this practice has been discontinued in most of the infant asylums and foundling asylums of the United States. It is

impossible to make a good woman of a girl by encouraging her to disregard the most sacred obligation which God puts upon a woman, the obligation of motherhood.

Long and bitter experience has demonstrated the hazard of taking young children from the breast unnecessarily, and some of the foundling asylums of the United States insist that the mother shall remain with her child and care for it, at least during the nursing period, unless she is physically incapable of nursing the child. For example, the Chicago Foundlings Home refuses to receive an infant if the mother is known, unless the mother will come with it. The institution receives foundlings who are abandoned by their mothers in other parts of the city, but it requires that the mothers in the home shall divide their milk between their own children and the foundlings, the breast milk being supplemented by bottle-feeding under the prescription of a skilled resident physician. Under this plan the mortality rate in the institution has been reduced to about the normal rate in the community at large. There are in the New York Foundling Hospital about 150 young mothers who suckle their own infants and at the same time give nourishment to a foundling baby. The same institution has about 1700 nursing babies on board in private family homes. A part of these babies are with wet nurses and part of them are bottle-fed. The majority of the wet nurses are Italian women. The babies are brought to the hospital, monthly, for inspection. A physician visits each baby after being placed. Sick babies are returned to the hospital.

PART THREE

COTTAGE AND CONGREGATE INSTITUTIONS FOR DELINQUENT AND DEPENDENT CHILDREN

A SPECIAL STUDY BY THE RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION DEPARTMENT OF CHILD-HELPING

CHAPTER VII

STUDY OF FIFTY INSTITUTIONS

THIS study was undertaken for the information of boards of trustees who are contemplating the building or enlargement of institutions for children. Many juvenile reformatories, orphan asylums and children's homes are located on tracts of land which have become surrounded by buildings and are no longer adapted to the purpose, but have increased in value. Some of these have been sold and the proceeds have furnished the means for purchasing land and building modern institutions in the country.

In most cases, it is desired to adopt the cottage plan for the new institutions, but boards of trustees labor under the disadvantage of not having available concrete information as to the relative cost of building on the cottage plan, and also as to the increase, if any, in the necessary cost of operating institutions on the cottage plan. This study includes typical institutions on both the congregate and the cottage plan, in different parts of the country.

The method of the study has been for an agent of the Russell Sage Foundation to visit each institution, with the consent and co-operation of the management, to measure up each room in each building, to ascertain as nearly as possible the cost of the lands and buildings, and to obtain a statement of the current expenses of the institution for a period of one year. It was deemed impracticable and unnecessary to include a larger number of institutions in this study. Those dealt with, however, are regarded as typical. Some admirable institutions have been omitted because their standards of building and equipment are too high for the average board of trustees to adopt. Others of high merit are omitted because it is believed that a comparative exhibit would do them injustice without a fuller explanation than is possible under the limitations of this publication. The effort has been made to make the comparison of the different institutions on as uniform a basis as possible, but it has been impossible to make the comparisons exactly uniform, for the reason that the institutions have been built at different periods, of different materials, and on different plans.

The study covers 50 institutions, of which 23 are for delinquent children (6 on the congregate and 17 on the cottage plan), and 27 for dependent children (17 on the congregate plan and 10 on the cottage plan). The cottage plan is becoming the prevailing plan in the United States for delinquent children, while the congregate plan is still the prevailing plan for dependent children. Most of the institutions for dependent children are small establishments, whose inmates can readily be accommodated in a single building. Most of the institutions for delinquent children are growing large and most of them are supported or aided from public funds. The rapid enlargement of such institutions is a necessity, and the tendency is for them to adopt the most modern plans.

On the other hand, there has been a sharp check in the building of orphan asylums and other institutions for dependent children, owing to the rapid development of the placing-out system for the care of dependent children. The state schools for dependent children established in Michigan, Minnesota and Wisconsin have required no enlargement for many years. The building of county homes in Ohio and Indiana has come to a standstill. In Indiana eight or ten county homes have already been closed, and others are likely to go out of use. In Massachusetts the building of orphan asylums has been practically discontinued and at least twelve orphan asylums and children's homes have been closed within the past few years. These facts will account for the slower extension of the cottage system for dependent children; but some of the newer institutions of this class, like the New York Orphanage, the Albany Orphan Asylum, the New York Asylum for Colored Children, and the Rose Orphan Asylum at Terre Haute, have adopted the cottage plan.

The White House Conference, called by President Roosevelt at Washington, in 1909, pronounced emphatically in favor of the cottage plan, and indicated the number of 25 as a minimum cottage unit. The cottage unit in the New York Juvenile Asylum is 20; the proposed cottage unit for the New York Training School for Boys, which is designed for 800 boys, is 16.

Considerable difference of opinion has developed as to the materials to be used in constructing cottages. The cottages of the Good-Will Farm in Maine, built 1892 to 1909, and the New York State Agricultural and Industrial School at Industry, built 1905 to 1909, are of wood. The objections to this material are, first, its inflammable character, and, second, its lack of durability. The cottages at Industry, only three years old, already call for considerable

Page 78, line 11 from foot of page.
For "the number of 25 as a minimum cottage unit,"
read "the number of 25 as a desirable cottage unit."

repairs. Many institutions have adopted a substantial form of slow-burning construction, such as is found in the St. Charles School for Boys, in Illinois, and the Jewish Protectory, in New York.

The rapid improvement and cheapening of fire-proof construction, with the increasing cost of lumber, indicate the probability of complete fire-proof construction hereafter. Fire-proof cottages are now being constructed of hollow tile at a cost only a fraction above that for brick cottages with interior wood construction. Hollow tile can be laid with great rapidity, by workmen of moderate skill. They produce a wall which is impervious to moisture with a very large proportion of air space, producing warmth in winter and coolness in summer. By a combination of hollow tile and reinforced concrete construction, fire-proof floors are laid at moderate cost, with great rapidity and entire security. A similar combination is possible for the construction of staircases.

The hollow tile can be finished in stucco on the outside at a moderate cost. They permit of plastering on the inside without lath or furring, and the plastering is much less liable to damage than plastering of the old type. Partitions can be constructed of hollow tile; fire-proof stairways can be constructed at moderate expense of reinforced concrete; floors can be finished in concrete on top of the tiling for hall-ways, dormitories and dining rooms. Wooden floors can be laid on top of the concrete for sitting rooms and kitchens, though concrete floors are now being used quite freely for all purposes. The concrete floor is both cheap and permanent, if properly laid.

There is a decided sentiment in favor of separate heating plants for cottages in institutions for delinquents. The expense of installing a large distributing plant is considerable, and while the steam fitters stoutly maintain that steam can be distributed without appreciable loss, it is only necessary to make a winter visit to any cottage institution where steam is distributed in order to trace the covered steam pipes by the melting of the snow or the early sprouting of the grass in spring. It is true that there is some loss in firing by inexperienced boys, but this loss will be very small if the cottage managers are sufficiently alert. Under present building conditions, the saving in installing a distributing steam plant will suffice to cover the difference in the cost of fire-proof construction.

In some of the newer cottage institutions, for boys as well as for girls, a separate domestic establishment is provided for each cottage, including dining rooms, kitchens, and, in some institutions, bakeries. In institutions for delinquent girls, the desirability of this arrange-

ment is unquestionable, not only to afford opportunity for the domestic training of the girls, but also to promote suitable classification and to develop normal social life. In institutions for girls it is desirable also that the laundry work should be distributed among the cottages as a means of domestic training.

In institutions for delinquent boys, the plan of a central kitchen, bakery and dining plant has generally prevailed, but recently a strong movement has developed in favor of a separate domestic plant for each cottage. This plan prevails at the New York State Agricultural and Industrial School, and is strongly urged by the commission which is preparing plans for the New York State Training School. In the latter case, the commission has advised that the cottage unit be made also the school unit, with a school in each cottage. This school plan is not favored by most of the experienced superintendents of boys' reformatories.

STATISTICAL TABLES DISCUSSED*

The institutions under consideration have been divided, for purposes of convenient study, into four classes: institutions for delinquent children, congregate and cottage, and institutions for dependent children, congregate and cottage. We present herewith a summary of the examination made of each of the 50 institutions, which may be studied by the reader at his leisure. The information obtained has been summarized in tabular form for the convenience of those who desire to compare the different institutions.

These tables cannot be used for invidious comparisons without great injustice, because of the sharply varying conditions. For example, take the Cincinnati Children's Home, which shows the largest amount of floor space per child, and the largest per capita cost of plant of any of the congregate institutions for dependent children. The per capita cost is based upon the number of children who live in the home, but as a matter of fact the home contains a large amount of space which is devoted to day nurseries. If that space could be eliminated, there would be a corresponding reduction both in the amount of floor space and the cost of the plant.

TABLE I.—SUMMARY OF DETAILS SHOWN IN FOLLOWING TABLES

Table I is a consolidated statement summarizing the contents of the succeeding tables as to floor space per child, total floor space per bed, cost of plant per bed, and current expense per child. The

* See pages 95 to 126.

Page 80, lines 13–14 from top of page.
Omit "with a school in each cottage."

rank of each institution is given under each heading. For example, among cottage institutions for delinquents, the St. Charles School for Boys stands first in floor space per child for children's use, tenth in total floor space for all purposes per child, fourth in cost of plant per bed, and fourth in per capita expense. The Cleveland Boys' Home stands third in floor space for children's use, fifth in total floor space, eleventh in cost of plant, and first in current expense per capita (the last, because it is a new institution recently started).

Among congregate institutions for dependents, the Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum stands eighth in space for children's use, sixteenth in total floor space, sixth in cost of plant per child and fourth in current expense per child.

TABLES II AND III.—FLOOR SPACE IN INSTITUTIONS FOR DELINQUENTS —CONGREGATE AND COTTAGE

These two tables indicate the floor space devoted to children's use in dormitories, day rooms, dining rooms, etc. The space allotted to children in the congregate institutions is 10.4 per cent less than in the cottage institutions, as follows:

Total Floor Space for Children's Use (Square Feet per Child)

Institutions for Delinquents:	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Average*
6 Congregate Institutions	95	191	120
17 Cottage Institutions	83	193	134

Out of 17 cottage institutions, one has less than 100 square feet, five have from 100 to 120 square feet, four have between 120 and 135 square feet, and seven have more than 135 square feet per child.

As the institution is built for the children, we may well examine the allowance of floor space for each child.

Details of Floor Space for Children (Square Feet per Child)

Institutions for Delinquents:	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Average*
Dormitories			
6 Congregate Institutions	35	80	49
17 Cottage Institutions	27	78	43
Day Rooms or Sitting Rooms			
6 Congregate Institutions	0	4	3
17 Cottage Institutions	0	26	14
Dining Rooms			
6 Congregate Institutions	8	20	11
17 Cottage Institutions	7	32	14
Play Rooms			
6 Congregate Institutions	7	42	16
17 Cottage Institutions	0	65	21
School Rooms			
6 Congregate Institutions	13	27	17
17 Cottage Institutions	0	24	13

The surprising fact appears that the average dormitory accommodation in the congregate institutions is materially larger than in the cottage institutions. This is doubtless due partly to the fact that boards of health have forbidden over-crowding in the older institutions, especially where the ventilation is defective. It is due partly to the fact that the cottage institutions have been carefully planned so as to economize dormitory space, and that the dormitories in most of the cottage institutions are so arranged as to permit of the most complete ventilation. For example, in the new cottages at the Children's Village at Chauncey, New York, and at the Jewish Protectory at Hawthorne, New York, the dormitories have windows on three sides. In other cottages arrangements are made so as to permit a free ventilation through gondola roofs, etc.

In some institutions the play rooms, school rooms or dining rooms serve also as sitting rooms. Experience proves that there is a great civilizing influence in neatly furnished sitting rooms, where children sit down quietly with their books or games. This influence cannot be secured by the use of a school room furnished with desks, or by the use of a bare play room with benches around the edge.

There is a great variety in the space allotted for chapels and assembly rooms. The average for both cottage and congregate institutions is 12 square feet per child. Out of 23 institutions, ten have 10 square feet or less, eight have between 10 and 15 square feet, and five have more than 15 square feet per child.

The kitchen accommodation is a matter of great importance in institutions. The Cleveland Boys' Home has 22 square feet per boy, the New York State Industrial School for Boys has 19 square feet, the Maine School for Boys 17 square feet; no other has more than 14 square feet per child.

Out of 17 cottage institutions, nine have less than 10 square feet, five have 10 to 14, and three have more than 14 square feet.

The matter of proper accommodations for officers is of great importance. It is necessary to avoid on the one hand the extravagance which prevails in some institutions of providing large, roomy apartments for officers while the children are huddled in insufficient space, and on the other hand to avoid the niggardliness which in some institutions leaves the officers without the ordinary decencies and comforts of life.

The work in these institutions is very exacting, and it is necessary that the employes shall have proper opportunity for rest, recrea-

tion and social life, in order that they may be able to perform adequate service in behalf of the children.

The average floor space for officers' sitting rooms, dining rooms, bed rooms and baths per officer (including guest chambers), and for general purposes, is as follows:

Floor Space for Officers' Quarters (Square Feet per Officer)

Institutions for Delinquents:	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Average*
6 Congregate Institutions	167	268	219
17 Cottage Institutions	154	714	279

Floor Space for General Purposes (Square Feet per Child)

Institutions for Delinquents:	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Average*
6 Congregate Institutions	68	167	85
17 Cottage Institutions	55	232	107

Total Floor Space for All Purposes (Square Feet per Child)

Institutions for Delinquents:	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Average*
6 Congregate Institutions	181	335	224
17 Cottage Institutions	202	477	277

TABLES IV AND V.—FLOOR SPACE IN INSTITUTIONS FOR DEPENDENTS —CONGREGATE AND COTTAGE

Total Floor Space for Children's Use (Square Feet per Child)

Institutions for Dependents:	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Average*
17 Congregate Institutions	74	187	112
10 Cottage Institutions	127	200	159

It will be observed that the floor space for children's use in the congregate institutions is 30 per cent less than in the cottage institutions. This increased space is distributed through all departments, as is indicated in the following statement:

Details of Floor Space for Children (Square Feet per Child)

Institutions for Dependents:	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Average*
Dormitories			
17 Congregate Institutions	25	58	41
10 Cottage Institutions	32	54	44
Day Rooms or Sitting Rooms			
17 Congregate Institutions	0	49	6
10 Cottage Institutions	8	43	18
Dining Rooms			
17 Congregate Institutions	7	24	13
10 Cottage Institutions	0	21	15
Play Rooms			
17 Congregate Institutions	4	37	14
10 Cottage Institutions	6	70	26
School Rooms			
17 Congregate Institutions	0	30	15
10 Cottage Institutions	15	41	22

The enlarged space in cottage institutions is noticeable especially in day rooms, play rooms and school rooms.

Every visitor will note the difference in the manners, the com-

fort and happiness of children in cottage institutions where suitable sitting rooms are provided.

Floor Space for Officers (Square Feet per Officer)

Institutions for Dependents:	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Average*
17 Congregate Institutions	113	499	236
10 Cottage Institutions	165	515	251

Floor Space for General Purposes (Square Feet per Child)

Institutions for Dependents:	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Average*
17 Congregate Institutions	46	220	85
10 Cottage Institutions	80	233	128

Total Floor Space for All Purposes (Square Feet per Child)

Institutions for Dependents:	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Average*
17 Congregate Institutions	171	459	220
10 Cottage Institutions	250	433	330

Comparison of Institutions for Delinquents and Dependents

Tables II to V.—Details of Floor Space for Children

The comparison of institutions for delinquents with those for dependents is as follows:

Square Feet of Floor Space for Children, per Child

Congregate Institutions:	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Average*
For Delinquents	95	191	120
For Dependents	74	187	112
Cottage Institutions:			
For Delinquents	83	193	134
For Dependents	127	200	159

It is interesting to note that while the congregate institutions for delinquent children have 7 per cent more space per child than those for dependents, the opposite is true of the cottage institutions, where the dependents have 18 per cent more than the delinquents.

If we consider the total floor space for all purposes, we find as follows:

Floor Space for All Purposes (Square Feet per Child)

Congregate Institutions:	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Average*
For Delinquents	181	335	224
For Dependents	171	459	220
Cottage Institutions:			
For Delinquents	175	477	277
For Dependents	250	433	330

While the delinquents have 2 per cent more total space in the congregate institutions, the dependents have 19 per cent more space in the cottage institutions.

The following statement compares the space available in congregate and cottage institutions for both delinquents and dependents,

Square Feet of Floor Space per Child, in 50 Institutions—Congregate and Cottage

Item	*6 Congregate Institutions for Delinquent Children*	*17 Cottage Institutions for Delinquent Children*	*17 Congregate Institutions for Dependent Children*	*10 Cottage Institutions for Dependent Children*	*Average for 50 Institutions*
Day Rooms	3	14	6	18	10
Dining Rooms	11	14	13	15	13
Dormitories	49	43	41	44	44
Play Rooms	16	21	14	26	19
School Rooms	17	13	15	22	16
Baths, etc.	12	13	8	12	11
Clothes Room	3	9	4	12	7
Hospital	9	7	11	10	9
Total	120	134	112	159	129
Average Number of Beds for Children in each Institution	830	440	239	228	376

It is interesting to note that while the congregate institutions for delinquents have more space per child than the congregate institutions for dependents, the opposite is true of the cottage institutions, which show more space for dependents.

TABLES VI AND VII.—COST OF PLANT, INSTITUTIONS FOR DELINQUENT CHILDREN

The cottage institutions show a marked advance in cost over the congregate institutions. The average cost of plant per bed was as follows:

Average Cost of Plant per Bed, Congregate and Cottage Institutions

Institutions for Delinquents:	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Average*
6 Congregate Institutions	$516	$940	$650
17 Cottage Institutions	487	1,906	840

It must be borne in mind, however, that the most of the congregate institutions were erected when building cost much less than it costs at the present time. Only two cottage institutions exceed a cost of $1100 per bed. The cottage institutions for delinquents may be divided into groups according to their cost, as follows:

Cost of Cottage Institutions for Delinquents, per Child

$500 Group	
Indiana Boys' School	$487
Connecticut School for Boys	518

$675 Group

Rhode Island, Sockanosset School for Boys	$630
New Jersey State Home for Boys	660
Ohio Boys' Industrial School	672
Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls	729

$800 Group

Ohio, Cleveland Boys' Home	$752
Wisconsin Industrial School for Boys	767
Massachusetts, Lyman School for Boys	803
Minnesota State Training School	905

$1000 Group

New York State Agricultural and Industrial School	$979
Indiana Girls' School	988
Illinois Training School for Girls	1,004
Illinois, St. Charles School for Boys	1,055
Massachusetts State Industrial School for Girls	1,092

$1900 Group

New York Jewish Protectory	$1,884
Maine State School for Boys	1,906

The $500 group includes the Indiana Boys' School ($487), which was built 1867 to 1893, on a very plain and economical basis. The labor of the boys was utilized for the manufacture and laying of bricks and in other ways. The Connecticut institution ($518) is also an old institution of limited accommodations. These two institutions provide only 224 and 211 square feet of floor space respectively, per boy, as against an average of 277 square feet for the cottage institutions, and an average of 224 for the congregate institutions.

The $675 group includes the Rhode Island Sockanosset School for Boys ($630), the New Jersey State Home for Boys ($660), the Ohio Boys' Industrial School ($672), and the Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls ($729). The three institutions for boys provide a total floor space of 175, 224 and 208 square feet respectively, per boy. The institutions in this group were built many years ago and afford only moderate accommodations.

The $800 group includes the new Cleveland Boys' Home ($752), the Wisconsin Industrial School for Boys at Waukesha ($767), the Lyman School for Boys at Westboro, Massachusetts ($803), and the Minnesota State Training School at Red Wing ($905). It will be observed that these four institutions represent about the average cost of cottage institutions for boys, which is about $840. The Lyman School in Massachusetts and the State Training School in Minnesota are well equipped and thoroughly up to date. They were built at a

time when building conditions were very favorable. The Cleveland School for Boys is a new institution which has been built in an expensive time.

The $1000 group includes the New York State Agricultural and Industrial School ($979), Indiana Girls' School ($988), Illinois Training School for Girls ($1004), Illinois St. Charles School for Boys ($1055), and the Massachusetts State Industrial School for Girls ($1092). The three institutions for boys are all new institutions and are up to date. The Indiana Girls' School is also a new institution with an excellent equipment. The Massachusetts institution is an older institution built under more favorable building conditions.

The experience of 25 institutions indicates that it is possible to locate, build and equip a modern cottage institution for delinquent boys or girls at a cost not exceeding $1000 per bed. There is a disposition in building cottage institutions for girls to provide a separate room for each girl. This has been done only partially at the Indiana Girls' School. If it should be adopted as a universal policy, it would involve an increase, probably, of 20 per cent, necessitating an appropriation of probably $1200 per bed.

TABLES VIII AND IX.—COST OF PLANT, INSTITUTIONS FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Average Cost of Plant per Bed, Congregate and Cottage Institutions

Institutions for Dependents:	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Average*
17 Congregate Institutions . . .	$376	$1,671	$ 758
10 Cottage Institutions	869	1,716	1,181

The 17 congregate institutions for dependents may be divided into groups according to their cost, as shown on page 88.

It will be observed that the average cost of the cottage institutions is 56 per cent greater than that of the congregate institutions. It must be considered, however, that the cottage institutions were most of them built at a more expensive time than the congregate institutions and that four of the congregate institutions cost from $1,400 to $1,670 per bed, while only one of the cottage institutions cost more than $1,400 per bed.

Of the cottage institutions, among those most worthy of study may be mentioned the Manual Training School Farm at Glenwood, Illinois; the Albany Orphan Asylum; the Rochester Orphan Asylum; the Good Will Farm at Hinckley, Maine; and the State Public School at Owatonna, Minnesota.

The average cost of the congregate institutions for dependents

Cost of Congregate Institutions for Dependents, per Child

$450 Group	
Erie, Pa., St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum	$376
Detroit, Protestant Orphan Asylum	413
Cincinnati, St. Joseph Orphanage	416
New Haven Orphan Asylum	426
Milwaukee, St. Rose's Orphan Asylum	474
Norwalk, Conn., Fairfield County Temporary Home	481
$600 Group	
Winsted, Conn., Wm. L. Gilbert Home	554
Buffalo, German Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum	570
Newark, N. J., Protestant Foster Home	582
Buffalo Orphan Asylum	600
$800 Group	
New Haven, St. Francis Orphan Asylum	711
Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum	788
Hopewell, N. J., St. Michael's Orphan Asylum	850
$1500 Group	
Chicago, St. Mary's Training School	1,403
Cleveland Protestant Orphan Asylum	1,436
Minneapolis, Washburn Memorial Orphan Asylum	1,656
Cincinnati Children's Home	1,671

Cost of Cottage Institutions for Dependents, per Child

$900 Group	
Hinckley, Maine, Good Will Farm	$ 869
Sparta, Wis., State Public School	884
$1100 Group	
Normal, Ill., Soldiers' Orphans' Home	1,018
Glenwood, Ill., Manual Training School Farm	1,101
Rochester Orphan Asylum	1,186
$1300 Group	
Albany Orphan Asylum	1,279
Owatonna, Minn., State Public School	1,290
Pleasantville, N. Y., Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Asylum *	1,315
Coldwater, Mich., State Public School	1,375
$1700 Group	
Terre Haute, Ind., Rose Orphan Asylum	1,716

Cost of Plant per Child, Comparison of Cottage and Congregate Plans

Delinquents and Dependents:	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Average*
6 Congregate Institutions (Delinquents)	$516	$ 940	$ 650
17 Congregate Institutions (Dependents)	376	1,671	758
17 Cottage Institutions (Delinquents)	487	1,906	840
10 Cottage Institutions (Dependents)	869	1,716	1,181

studied is 17 per cent more than for delinquents. The average cost of cottage institutions for dependents studied is 41 per cent more than the cottage institutions for delinquents. The difference is due chiefly

* Bids received; not yet built.

to the fact that most of the cottage institutions for delinquents were erected when building was cheap and most of the cottage institutions for dependents were erected recently when building had become very expensive.

TABLES VI TO IX.—CURRENT EXPENSES PER CHILD, CONGREGATE AND COTTAGE INSTITUTIONS FOR DELINQUENTS

The cost of maintaining the congregate institutions for delinquents is shown by the tables to be 13.3 per cent less than in the cottage institutions. The following statement shows the

Current Expenses per Child, Congregate and Cottage Institutions

Institutions for Delinquents:	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Average*
6 Congregate Institutions (Total)	$125	$234	$161
Same (omitting school expenses)	111	199	140
17 Cottage Institutions (Total)	128	286	195
Same (omitting school expenses)	122	261	173

The expenses for cottage institutions may be classified as follows:

Expenses per Child, Cottage Institutions for Delinquents

	Expenses per Child
$170 Class	
Indiana Boys' School	$128
Rhode Island, Sockanosset School for Boys	156
Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls	169
Minnesota State Training School	169
Ohio Boys' Industrial School	171
Connecticut School for Boys	175
New Jersey State Home for Boys	175
Illinois Training School for Girls	185
Wisconsin Industrial School for Boys	190
$245 Class	
Maine State School for Boys	$227
Massachusetts, Lyman School for Boys	244
New York State Agricultural and Industrial School	245
Massachusetts Industrial School for Girls	246
Illinois, St. Charles School for Boys	246
Indiana Girls' School	251
New York Jewish Protectory	255

The schools of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Ohio, Connecticut and New Jersey show a remarkable agreement, ranging from $169 to $175 per capita. These institutions all stand well.

In the $245 list we find that all of the institutions named except two are located in the East, where living expenses, fuel, etc., are higher than in the West. The list includes two institutions for girls, which as a rule are more expensive in administration than institutions for

boys, largely for the reason that the boys are able to contribute more toward their own support.

Examining the current expenses in detail, we observe:

Expenditures for Salaries per Child, Congregate and Cottage Institutions for Delinquents

Institutions for Delinquents:	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Average*
6 Congregate Institutions	$23	$ 79	$37
(3 Catholic Institutions)	23	27	25
17 Cottage Institutions	28	107	57

The salaries in the congregate institutions average $37 per child and in the cottage institutions $57 per child. Examination reveals that this difference is due to the fact that the congregate institutions include three large Catholic institutions, providing for more than half of the children. The average amount paid per child for salaries in these Catholic institutions is from $23 to $27, while in the other congregate institutions the average amount paid for salaries is about the same as in the cottage institutions. The Catholic institutions enjoy the unpaid services of the brothers and sisters, who receive only a nominal allowance for the barest necessities.

The cost of fuel and light is $11 per child in the congregate institutions, as against $21 in the cottage institutions. Examination, however, shows that the congregate institutions include three Catholic institutions, which report cost for fuel as $2, $6 and $8 respectively per child. This doubtless points to the fact that these institutions receive donations of fuel which are not included in their current expenses. If this fuel was included, the average rate would probably be at least $16 per child instead of $11. Even in that case the congregate institutions would show an expense of 24 per cent less per capita for fuel than the cottage institutions. This is partly due to the fact that the number of employes to be accommodated is larger in the cottage institutions.

In the matter of provisions we observe:

Expenditures for Provisions per Child, Congregate and Cottage Institutions for Delinquents

Institutions for Delinquents:	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Average*
6 Congregate Institutions	$47	$61	$54
17 Cottage Institutions	25	52	40

The congregate institutions show an average expense of $54 per child as against $40 in the cottage institutions. This is due to the fact that most of the cottage institutions are located on large farms where the inmates are able to raise a large part of their food. Even in the institutions for girls a material saving in provisions is indicated in the cottage plan. The girls' department of the New York Catholic Protectory (congregate) shows an annual expense of $54 per child for food,

while the girls' cottage schools in Massachusetts, Illinois and Indiana show a cost for food of $33 to $38 per capita.

The average cost of clothing in the congregate and cottage institutions is exactly the same, $19 per child. This expense ranges from $13 to $32 per child (the Cleveland Boys' Home shows a higher rate, which is doubtless due to the fact that it is a new institution). School expenses, including salaries of teachers, average $22, ranging from $13 to $38 per child.

It is encouraging to discover that the necessary increase in the maintenance cost of the cottage system is so small. The apparent difference is greater than the real difference, for the reason, as already indicated, that the congregate institutions include three Catholic institutions, which pay little for salaries.

EXPENSES PER CHILD, INSTITUTIONS FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Current Expense per Child, Congregate and Cottage Institutions

Institutions for Dependents:	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Average*
17 Congregate Institutions	$ 68	$327	$118
10 Cottage Institutions	159	272	196

The current expenses of the 17 congregate institutions for dependent children show an astonishing diversity, running from $68 to $327 per child. They may be grouped as follows:

Under $100	*Total*	*Deduct Salaries*	*Living Expenses*
St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum, Erie, Pa.	$68	$12	$56
St. Rose's Orphan Asylum, Milwaukee, Wis.	70	9	61
German Orphan Asylum, Buffalo, N. Y.	75	15	60
St. Michael's Orphan Asylum, Hopewell, N. J.	84	16	68
St. Joseph Orphan Asylum, Cincinnati, O.	84	13	71
St. Francis' Orphan Asylum, New Haven, Conn.	84	12	72
St. Mary's Training School, Feehanville, Ill.	91	14	77
Protestant Orphan Asylum, Detroit, Mich.	97	34	63

The first seven institutions named above are Roman Catholic institutions, which enjoy the unpaid services of brothers and sisters. The contrast between these institutions and the other congregate institutions may be seen as follows:

$100 to $200	*Total*	*Deduct Salaries*	*Living Expenses*
William L. Gilbert Home, Winsted, Conn.	$112	$33	$ 79
Protestant Foster Home, Newark, N. J.	121	25	96
Buffalo Orphan Asylum, Buffalo, N. Y.	129	52	77
Children's Home, Cincinnati, O.	159	80	79
New Haven Orphan Asylum, New Haven, Conn.	184	46	138
Jewish Orphan Asylum, Cleveland, O.	191	51	140
Washburne Memorial Orphan Asylum, Minneapolis, Minn.	195	76	139
Fairfield County Temporary Home, Norwalk, Conn.	209	51	158

The average salary expenditure for the seven Roman Catholic institutions is $13 per child, while the average expenditure for the nine non-Catholic institutions is $50 per child. The difference represents the voluntary unpaid service of the brothers and sisters in the Roman Catholic institutions. It should be remarked that the difference in cost of maintaining orphan asylums is partly due to the fact that some orphan asylums maintain schools and kindergartens of their own, while others send their children to the public schools. The reported school expenses run from nothing to $41, yearly, per child.

If we compare the non-Catholic congregate institutions with the cottage institutions, all of which are non-Catholic, we shall find that the annual per capita cost of the congregate institutions is $175 per child as compared with an average of $196 for the cottage institutions, a difference of only $21 per child. It must be remembered that many congregate institutions are over-crowded and the economy is obtained at the expense of the comfort and health of the children.

We have already discovered the difference in expenditure for salaries in institutions for dependent children. In order to make the figures available for comparison we give the following statement of

Expenditures for Salaries per Child

Institutions for Dependents:	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Average*
17 Congregate Institutions	$ 9	$81	$29
10 Cottage Institutions	31	94	60

(The foregoing statement is subject to the remarks already made respecting the difference between salary expenditures of Catholic and non-Catholic institutions.)

In the matter of expenditures for provisions, the difference is in favor of the congregate institutions, whereas in the case of delinquent children the difference was in favor of the cottage institutions. In the latter case the children are able to aid materially in providing milk, vegetables, etc., thus reducing the cost of provisions. The following is a statement of

Expenditures for Provisions per Child

Institutions for Dependents:	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Average*
17 Congregate Institutions	$32	$91	$42
10 Cottage Institutions	36	73	53

The apparently low rate in the congregate institutions is doubtless due partly to the fact that many Catholic institutions secure large donations of food supplies which are not figured into the budget. The seven Catholic congregate institutions show an average expendi-

ture of $37 per child for food and the ten congregate Protestant institutions show an average of $51 per child; while the ten cottage institutions show an average of $53 per child, corresponding closely to the non-Catholic institutions reported above.

It must be borne in mind also that many congregate institutions are over-crowded, and that the reduced per capita cost is sometimes gained at the expense of the health and comfort of the children. This is clearly shown in the difference between the play-room conditions and the sitting-room conditions revealed by the two methods.

The current expenses of cottage institutions for dependent children average almost exactly the same as those of the cottage institutions for delinquent children—$195 per child as against $196 for the delinquents. There is a much wider diversity between the current expenses of the cottage and congregate institutions for dependent children than there is between the cottage and congregate institutions for delinquent children. This is due, as already suggested, to the very low per capita cost of the Catholic congregate institutions. The list given does not include any cottage institutions for Catholic children. If the Catholic congregate institutions were left out, the per capita cost of the congregate institutions would be approximately $170 instead of $118, which would make a difference of only about $25 between the per capita cost of carrying on the cottage institutions and the congregate institutions.

TABLES X AND XI.—INSTITUTION PAYROLLS

Tables X and XI are consolidated payrolls which are published by permission of the institutions represented. Differences in pay for the same service in some cases represent a general difference in the scale of wages for similiar service in different communities; in other cases they represent a difference in standards as to the quality of service required. As a rule, the compensation of the higher grades of service is higher in the larger institutions.

No Invidious Comparisons

In the study of the tables, the caution already given on page 80 should be borne in mind: namely, that these tables cannot be used for invidious comparisons without great injustice. The studies of the fifty institutions were made by three different agents, and while the effort was made to standardize the work, allowance must necessarily be made for the personal equation.

Attention has already been called to the accidental circumstances which may cause differences in the per capita rate of current expenses. In like manner apparent differences in the cost of the plant are often due to accidental circumstances. For example, in one institution the attics and basements are left vacant for the reason that the best authorities do not consider them desirable space for children's use. In other institutions both basements and attics are utilized for domestic purposes. In a two-story building this would double the amount of floor space available with a comparatively small addition to the cost of the building. It is manifest that unfavorable comparisons in such cases might be very unjust.

The same considerations may affect the comparison of floor space available for different purposes. In one institution the superintendent will report unused basements as storerooms and they will figure into the available capacity. It was a nice question in some cases whether temporary wooden pavilions costing from $100 to $500 should be counted as play rooms or whether they should be regarded simply as sheds. The showing as to play room space would be radically affected by the decision.

The effort has been made to treat all of the institutions as nearly on the same basis as possible. While mistakes may be made as to individual institutions, it is believed that the combined results will be found sufficiently accurate for practical purposes.

TABLE I.—COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF FLOOR SPACE, COST OF PLANT AND CURRENT EXPENSES

Institution	*Floor Space for Children, per Bed (Square Feet)*	*Rank of Institution*	*Total Floor Space, per Bed (Square Feet)*	*Rank of Institution*	*Cost of Lands, Buildings, etc., per Bed*	*Rank of Institution*	*Current Expenses per Child*	*Rank of Institution*
DELINQUENT CHILDREN—CONGREGATE INSTITUTIONS								
State Industrial School, Rochester, N. Y.[1]	191	1	335	1	$724	3	$200	3
House of Refuge, Cincinnati, Ohio	126	2	222	3	696	4	204	2
N. Y. Catholic Protectory, Westchester, N. Y. (Female Dept.)	121	3	204	5	564	5	126	5
Hudson County Catholic Protectory, Arlington, N. J.	109	4	303	2	940	1	133	4
House of Refuge, Randall's Island, N. Y.	103	5	216	4	869	2	234	1
N. Y. Catholic Protectory, Westchester, N. Y. (Male Dept.)	95	6	181	6	516	6	125	6
Average	120		224		$650		$161	
DELINQUENT CHILDREN—COTTAGE INSTITUTIONS								
St. Charles School for Boys, St. Charles, Ill.	193	1	301	10	$1055	4	$246	4
State Training School for Girls, Geneva, Ill.	190	2	394	3	1004	5	185	10
Cleveland Boys' Home, Hudson, Ohio	187	3	359	5	752	11	286	1
State School for Boys, Portland, Maine	173	4	477	1	1906	1	227	8
Lyman School for Boys, Westboro, Mass.	172	5	365	4	803	9	244	7
Jewish Protectory, Hawthorne, N. Y.	164	6	313	8	1884	2	255	2
State Training School, Red Wing, Minn.	147	7	305	9	905	8	169	14
State Industrial School for Girls, Lancaster, Mass.	135	8	430	2	1092	3	246	5
Industrial School for Girls, Milwaukee, Wis.	129	9	344	7	729	12	169	15
State Agricultural and Industrial School, Industry, N. Y.	129	10	345	6	979	7	545	6
Boys' Industrial School, Lancaster, Ohio	123	11	208	15	672	13	171	13

[1] Buildings abandoned in 1907 and school moved to Industry, N. Y.

TABLE I (CONTINUED) COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF FLOOR SPACE, COST OF PLANT AND CURRENT EXPENSES

Institution	*Floor Space for Children, per Bed (Square Feet)*	*Rank of Institution*	*Total Floor Space, per Bed (Square Feet)*	*Rank of Institution*	*Cost of Lands, Buildings, etc., per Bed*	*Rank of Institution*	*Current Expenses per Child*	*Rank of Institution*
Indiana Girls' School, Clermont, Ind.	118	12	276	11	$988	6	$251	3
School for Boys, Meriden, Conn.[1]	112	13	202	16	518	16	175	12
State Home for Boys, Jamesburg, N. J.	110	14	224	13	660	14	175	11
Indiana Boys' School, Plainfield, Ind.[1]	108	15	211	14	487	17	128	17
Industrial School for Boys, Waukesha, Wis.	105	16	225	12	767	10	190	9
Sockanosset School for Boys, Howard, R. I.	83	17	175	17	630	15	156	16
Average	134		277		$840		$195	
DEPENDENT CHILDREN—CONGREGATE INSTITUTIONS								
Children's Home, Cincinnati, Ohio	187[2]	1	459	1	$1671	1	$159	6
Protestant Orphan Asylum, Cleveland, Ohio	174	2	336	2	1436	3	327	1
St. Mary's Training School, Feehanville, Ill.	139	3	280	3	1403	4	91	11
Protestant Foster Home, Newark, N. J.	134	4	229	8	582	9	121	8
New Haven Orphan Asylum, New Haven, Conn.	122	5	236	7	426	14	184	5
St. Francis Orphan Asylum, New Haven, Conn.	121	6	186	14	711	7	84	14
Washburn Memorial Orphan Asylum, Minneapolis, Minn.	118	7	252	5	1656	2	195	3
Jewish Orphan Asylum, Cleveland, Ohio	115	8	176	16	788	6	191	4
St. Rose's Orphan Asylum, Milwaukee, Wis.	107	9	260	4	474	13	70	16
German Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum, Buffalo, N. Y.	103	10	199	10	570	10	75	15
St. Joseph Orphanage, Cincinnati, Ohio	103	11	237	6	416	15	84	12
Fairfield County Temporary Home, Norwalk, Conn.	99	12	197	11	481	12	209	2
Wm. L. Gilbert Home, Winsted, Conn.	97	13	195	12	554	11	112	9

[1] Combined Cottage and Congregate.

[2] Includes accommodations for day children, not counted.

TABLE I (CONTINUED)

St. Michael's Orphan Asylum, Hopewell, N. J.	92	14	190	13	850	5	84	13
Buffalo Orphan Asylum, Buffalo, N. Y.	92	15	214	9	600	8	129	7
St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum, Erie, Penna.	83	16	179	15	376	17	68	17
Protestant Orphan Asylum, Detroit, Mich.	74	17	171	17	413	16	97	10
Average	112		220		$758		$118	
DEPENDENT CHILDREN—COTTAGE INSTITUTIONS								
Rose Orphan Home, Terre Haute, Ind.	200	1	424	2	$1716	1	$221	4
Manual Training School Farm, Glenwood, Ill.	188	2	341	7	1101	7	182	7
Soldiers' Orphans' Home, Normal, Ill.[1]	186	3	346	5	1018	8	242	2
Albany Orphan Asylum, Albany, N. Y.	181	4	405	3	1279	5	191	6
Rochester Orphan Asylum, Rochester, N. Y.	165	5	378	4	1186	6	159	10
Good Will Farm, Hinckley, Maine	163	6	433	1	869	10	178	8
State Public School, Owatonna, Minn.	150	7	331	8	1290	4	218	5
State Public School, Sparta, Wis.	142	8	266	9	884	9	272	1
State Public School, Coldwater, Mich.	142	9	34	6	1375	2	225	3
Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society Orphan Asylum, Pleasantville, N. Y.[2]	127	10	250	10	1315	3	161	9
Average	159		330		$1181		$196	

[1] Combined Cottage and Congregate.

[2] Figures for cost of plant and floor space taken from estimates on proposed buildings. Figures for current expenses relate to present plant, 150th St. and Broadway, New York.

TABLE II.—DELINQUENT CHILDREN—CONGREGATE INSTITUTIONS—SQUARE FEET OF FLOOR SPACE

Item	New Jersey *Arlington, Hudson Co., Catholic Protectory*	New York *Randall's Island, House of Refuge*	New York *Rochester, State Industrial School* [1]	New York *Westchester, N. Y. Catholic Protectory (Male)*	New York *Westchester, N. Y. Catholic Protectory (Female)*	Ohio *Cincinnati, House of Refuge*	*Totals*
Number of beds for children	180	850	800	1800	900	450	4980
SQUARE FEET OF FLOOR SPACE—PER BED							
For Children							
Day Rooms	3	..	..	4	4	2	3
Dining Rooms	8	9	20	8	11	11	11
Dormitories	45	52	80	35	50	49	49
Play Rooms	21	8	42	7	15	21	16
School Rooms	18	15	27	13	14	26	17
Baths, etc.	11	10	11	15	10	12	12
Clothes Rooms	..	2	1	4	4	3	3
Hospital	3	7	10	9	13	2	9
Total	109	103	191	95	121	126	120
For Officers							
Sitting Rooms	6	4	3	2	2	1	2
Dining Rooms	5	3	2	2	1	2	2
Bed Rooms	15	20	25	9	11	8	14
Baths, etc.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total	27	28	31	14	15	12	19

[1] Buildings abandoned in 1907 and school moved to Industry, N. Y.

TABLE II (CONTINUED) SQUARE FEET OF FLOOR SPACE—PER BED

FOR GENERAL PURPOSES							
Offices	2	2	2	1	1	1	1
Reception Rooms	2	1	1	1	2	1	..
Library	..	..	1	..	..	..	12
Chapel and Assembly Rooms	50	7	16	12	5	9	25
Industrial Rooms	36	35	39	23	8	22	1
Sewing Rooms	9	..	1	1	2	..	5
Kitchens	6	7	5	3	5	8	4
Laundry	17	..	7	2	6	4	13
Store Rooms	14	15	14	12	8	16	18
Halls	26	18	27	14	30	22	2
Porches	5	..	..	3	1	1	..
Total	167	85	113	72	68	84	85
Grand Total	303	216	335	181	204	222	224
Number of Beds for Officers	22	90	95	150	63	27[1]	447
Average Floor Space for Each Officer	218	286	263	167	215	189	219

[1] Thirty-one other officers live outside.

TABLE III.—DELINQUENT CHILDREN—COTTAGE INSTITUTIONS—SQUARE FEET OF FLOOR SPACE

Item	Connecticut *Meriden, School for Boys* [1]	Illinois *Geneva, Training School for Girls*	Illinois *St. Charles, St. Charles School for Boys*	Indiana *Clermont, Indiana Girls' School*	Indiana *Plainfield, Indiana Boys' School* [1]	Maine *Portland, State School for Boys*	Massachusetts *Lancaster, State Industrial School for Girls*	Massachusetts *Westboro, Lyman School for Boys*	Minnesota *Red Wing, State Training School*
Number of beds for children	460	418	500	320	698	140	242	412	400
SQUARE FEET OF FLOOR SPACE—PER BED									
For Children									
Day Rooms	2	6	20	15	18	..	12	23	11
Dining Rooms	15	16	19	14	7	16	8	17	13
Dormitories	42	72	43	52	34	53	69	41	46
Play Rooms	19	65	57	..	1	25	..	32	35
School Rooms	14	11	10	12	10	22	21	24	16
Baths, etc.	9	7	20	9	22	17	7	15	15
Clothes Rooms	6	3	19	9	8	25	4	13	7
Hospital	5	10	5	7	8	15	14	7	4
Total	112	190	193	118	108	173	135	172	147
For Officers									
Sitting Rooms	5	3	2	..	4	16	14	5	3
Dining Rooms	3	2	3	5	2	6	1	2	3
Bed Rooms	16	28	14	38	24	50	45	26	29
Baths, etc.	1	4	1	2	1	7	3	3	2
Total	25	37	20	45	31	79	63	36	37

[1] Combined Cottage and Congregate.

TABLE III—(CONTINUED)

FOR GENERAL PURPOSES									
Offices	1	2	3	2	2	14	4	1	3
Reception Rooms	2	1	6	7	2	6	1	7	3
Library	3	4	2	..	2	7	1	1	2
Chapel and Assembly Rooms	7	32	11	14	6	16	13	8	6
Industrial Rooms	8	6	18	5	38	6	58	34	28
Sewing Rooms	2	1	..	..	1	10	..	..	2
Kitchens	9	11	12	12	5	17	2	14	5
Laundry	5	17	4	7	..	14	..	11	6
Store Rooms	12	40	16	23	7	69	80	51	30
Halls	14	40	12	38	6	60	44	25	30
Porches	2	13	4	5	3	6	29	5	6
Total	65	167	88	113	72	225	232	157	121
Grand Total	202	389	301	276	211	477	430	349	305
Number of Beds for Officers	45	75	64	50	30	30	60	50[1]	35
Average Floor Space for Each Officer	256	204	154	289	714	367	256	298	425

[1] Nineteen other employes.

TABLE III (CONTINUED) DELINQUENT CHILDREN—COTTAGE INSTITUTIONS—SQUARE FEET OF FLOOR SPACE

Item	New Jersey *Jamesburg, State Home for Boys*	New York *Hawthorne, Jewish Protectory*	New York *Industry, State Agricultural and Industrial School*	Ohio *Hudson, Cleveland Boys' Home*	Ohio *Lancaster, Boys' Industrial School*	Rhode Island *Howard, Sockanosset School for Boys*	Wisconsin *Milwaukee, Industrial School for Girls*	Wisconsin *Waukesha, Industrial School for Boys*	*Totals*
Number of beds for children	510	300	640	133	1220	425	245	420	7483
SQUARE FEET OF FLOOR SPACE—PER BED									
FOR CHILDREN									
Day Rooms	..	23	26	26	21	6	..	..	14
Dining Rooms	11	19	20	32	10	10	14	13	14
Dormitories	36	37	47	78	34	27	78	30	43
Play Rooms	19	26	..	19	23	9	1	18	21
School Rooms	24	20	..	22	8	13	19	17	13
Baths, etc.	7	23	9	8	10	10	9	13	13
Clothes Rooms	5	10	16	2	11	3	4	5	9
Hospital	8	6	11	..	6	5	4	9	7
Total	110	164	129	187	123	83	129	105	134
FOR OFFICERS									
Sitting Rooms	6	4	13	18	2	5	3	13	5
Dining Rooms	2	4	5	..	2	3	4	2	3
Bed Rooms	17	35	33	58	23	20	18	18	26
Baths, etc.	2	4	3	2	3	1	3	3	2
Total	27	47	54	78	30	29	28	36	36

TABLE III (CONTINUED)

FOR GENERAL PURPOSES									
Offices	2	4	5	3	2	1	4	3	3
Reception Rooms	9	5	2	4	4	..	4	1	4
Library	..	3	..	..	..	1	3	1	1
Chapel and Assembly Rooms	14	10	21	11	7	7	12	13	12
Industrial Rooms	14	10	31	8	14	19	45	15	21
Sewing Rooms	..	..	..	..	1	..	7	8	1
Kitchens	7	8	19	22	7	2	5	10	9
Laundry	..	5	1	8	3	..	..	4	4
Store Rooms	23	15	37	18	4	19	54	9	24
Halls	12	37	30	12	9	12	46	19	22
Porches	6	5	16	8	4	2	7	1	6
Total	87	102	162	94	55	63	187	84	107
Grand Total	224	313	345	359	208	175	344	225	277
Number of Beds for Officers	60	52	136	30	142	38	30	50	977
Average Floor Space for Each Officer	227	274	257	345	260	325	225	304	279

TABLE IV.—DEPENDENT CHILDREN—CONGREGATE INSTITUTIONS—SQUARE FEET OF FLOOR SPACE

Item	Connecticut *New Haven, New Haven Orphan Asylum*	Connecticut *New Haven, St. Francis Orphan Asylum*	Connecticut *Norwalk, Fairfield County Temporary Home*	Connecticut *Winsted, Wm. L. Gilbert Home*	Illinois *Feehanville, St. Mary's Training School*	Michigan *Detroit, Protestant Orphan Asylum*	Minnesota *Minneapolis, Washburn Memorial Orphan Asylum*	New Jersey *Hopewell, St. Michael's Orphan Asylum*	New Jersey *Newark, Protestant Foster Home*
Number of beds for children	141	460	80	270	462	135	122	240	110
SQUARE FEET OF FLOOR SPACE—PER BED									
For Children									
Day Rooms	5	..	..	4	10	13	22	..	2
Dining Rooms	9	15	10	8	24	8	14	19	7
Dormitories	32	58	28	39	46	25	39	29	51
Play Rooms	15	15	10	10	13	13	8	16	30
School Rooms	30	19	21	18	17	..	13	8	20
Baths, etc.	5	9	2	5	14	8	11	13	5
Clothes Rooms	2	1	1	4	5	4	11	3	9
Hospital	24	4	27	9	10	3	..	4	10
Total	122	121	99	97	139	74	118	92	134
For Officers									
Sitting Rooms	..	2	..	5	6	7	..	3	..
Dining Rooms	4	3	3	3	6	2	3	3	2
Bed Rooms	20	12	17	19	22	8	30	13	31
Baths, etc.	..	2	1	2	5	..	1	1	1
Total	24	19	21	29	39	17	34	20	34

TABLE IV (CONTINUED)

FOR GENERAL PURPOSES									
Offices	1	3	2	2	3	2	8	..	..
Reception Rooms	2	1	9	1	1	4	3	2	5
Library	..	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..
Chapel and Assembly Rooms	..	16	10	..	10	9	29	7	..
Industrial Rooms	5	..	..	..	..	..	14	..	..
Sewing Rooms	5	2	3	1	3	..	7	2	1
Kitchens	4	3	5	5	13	4	11	7	4
Laundry	7	4	9	4	4	7	6	9	4
Store Rooms	24	6	25	21	11	40	9	14	25
Halls	34	11	12	25	43	10	13	36	19
Porches	8	..	2	10	5	4	..	1	3
Total	90	46	77	69	102	80	100	78	61
Grand Total	236	186	197	195	280	171	252	190	229
Number of Beds for Officers	19	29	8	27	36	13	17	22	14
Average Floor Space for Each Officer	176	301	214	286	499	179	245	216	265

TABLE IV (CONTINUED) DEPENDENT CHILDREN—CONGREGATE INSTITUTIONS—SQUARE FEET OF FLOOR SPACE

Item	NEW YORK *Buffalo, Buffalo Orphan Asylum*	NEW YORK *Buffalo, German Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum*	OHIO *Cincinnati, Children's Home*	OHIO *Cincinnati, St. Joseph Orphanage*	OHIO *Cleveland, Jewish Orphan Asylum*	OHIO *Cleveland, Protestant Orphan Asylum*	PENNSYLVANIA *Erie, St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum*	WISCONSIN *Milwaukee, St. Rose's Orphan Asylum*	*Totals*
Number of beds for children	150	412	85[1]	450	510	94	220	130	4071
SQUARE FEET OF FLOOR SPACE—PER BED									
FOR CHILDREN									
Day Rooms	23	3	15	3	2	49	7	..	6
Dining Rooms	8	8	16	20	10	10	9	11	13
Dormitories	34	42	47	37	45	30	28	43	41
Play Rooms	4	11	37	6	22	9	8	13	14
School Rooms	3	14	11	13	15	8	12	24	15
Baths, etc.	7	10	12	11	2	16	3	5	8
Clothes Rooms	2	7	21	6	3	5	3	6	4
Hospital	11	8	28	7	16	47	13	5	11
Total	92	103	187	103	115	174	83	107	112
FOR OFFICERS									
Sitting Rooms	2	3	7	1	2	3	3	4	3
Dining Rooms	5	5	8	5	1	6	3	5	4
Bed Rooms	22	9	35	11	7	31	10	7	15
Baths, etc.	2	..	2	1	..	4	..	2	1
Total	31	17	52	18	10	44	16	18	23

[1] Also maintain Day Nursery, providing for about 60 day children.

TABLE IV (CONTINUED)

FOR GENERAL PURPOSES									
Offices	3	2	8	2	2	2	..	3	2
Reception Rooms	2	1	5	3	1	6	3	3	2
Library	..	..	6	2	..	3	..	..	1
Chapel and Assembly Rooms	5	9	35	16	8	5	17	59	12
Industrial Rooms	..	9	..	37	8	4	..	13	7
Sewing Rooms	2	4	..	6	2	4	1	9	3
Kitchens	5	4	8	12	2	7	6	8	7
Laundry	11	10	23	6	3	24	5	8	7
Store Rooms	16	13	33	4	12	27	7	2	14
Halls	36	23	85	27	12	28	39	30	26
Porches	11	4	17	1	1	8	2	..	4
Total	91	79	220	116	51	118	80	135	85
Grand Total	214	199	459	237	176	336	179	260	220
Number of Beds for Officers	22	50	17	40	30	11	30	10	395
Average Floor Space for Each Officer	208	141	260	200	166	377	113	231	236

TABLE V.—DEPENDENT CHILDREN—COTTAGE INSTITUTIONS—SQUARE FEET OF FLOOR SPACE

Item	ILLINOIS *Glenwood, Manual Training School Farm*	ILLINOIS *Normal, Soldiers' Orphans' Home*[1]	INDIANA *Terre Haute, Rose Orphan Home*	MAINE *Hinckley, Good Will Farm*	MICHIGAN *Coldwater, State Public School*	MINNESOTA *Owatonna, State Public School*	NEW YORK *Albany, Albany Orphan Asylum*	NEW YORK *Pleasantville, Hebrew S. G. Soc. Orphan Asylum*[2]	NEW YORK *Rochester, Rochester Orphan Asylum*	WISCONSIN *Sparta, State Public School*	*Totals*
Number of beds for children	352	280	93	191	200	210	130	510	111	200	2277
SQUARE FEET OF FLOOR SPACE—PER BED											
FOR CHILDREN											
Day Rooms	17	8	43	16	17	20	18	21	28[3]	9	18
Dining Rooms	18	13	11	20	18	11	16	21	..	9	15
Dormitories	39	54	39	57	42	46	32	41	46	47	44
Play Rooms	69	21	70	11	6	22	29	6	38	24	26
School Rooms	20	27	15	41	24	13	28	17	18	19	22
Baths, etc.	10	14	11	14	10	10	25	12	14	6	12
Clothes Rooms	9	32	11	4	8	7	19	6	9	15	12
Hospital	6	17	..	..	17	21	14	3	12	13	10
Total	188	186	200	163	142	150	181	127	165	142	159
FOR OFFICERS											
Sitting Rooms	5	7	8	9	4	8	12	1	5	3	5
Dining Rooms	4	5	8	..	8	8	4	1	6	6	4
Bed Rooms	18	29	60	27	49	40	24	24	26	33	30
Baths, etc.	3	2	7	1	6	4	2	3	5	2	4
Total	30	43	83	37	67	60	42	29	42	44	43

[1] Combined Cottage and Congregate. [2] Figures taken from plans for proposed institution. [3] Also used as dining rooms.

TABLE V (CONTINUED)

FOR GENERAL PURPOSES											
Offices	3	3	3	10	7	6	5	3	1	3	4
Reception Rooms	2	6	10	13	4	3	2	..	2	5	4
Library	2	3	..	3	..	5	5	1	..	..	2
Chapel and Assembly Rooms	7	12	12	33	16	13	18	6	13	7	12
Industrial Rooms	41	25	..	26	11	7	13	13	7	4	18
Sewing Rooms	6	4	4	..	2	1	..	..	6	..	2
Kitchens	3	7	7	21	13	13	10	7	13	13	10
Laundry	..	4	19	2	10	9	9	5	40	3	7
Store Rooms	14	11	33	48	21	27	42	22	32	15	23
Halls	42	40	46	52	32	29	62	25	42	22	36
Porches	3	2	7	25	17	8	16	12	15	8	10
Total	123	117	141	233	133	121	182	94	171	80	128
Grand Total	341	346	424	433	342	331	405	250	378	266	330
Number of Beds for Officers	52	50	15	33	50	45	16	91	15	20	387
Average Floor Space for Each Officer	200	240	515	214	267	283	339	165	314	444	251

TABLE VI.—DELINQUENT CHILDREN—CONGREGATE INSTITUTIONS—COST OF LANDS, BUILDINGS, ETC., AND CURRENT EXPENSES

Item	NEW JERSEY *Arlington, Hudson Co. Catholic Protectory*	NEW YORK *Randall's Island, House of Refuge*	NEW YORK *Rochester, State Industrial School* [1]	NEW YORK *Westchester, N.Y. Catholic Protectory (Male)*	NEW YORK *Westchester, N.Y. Catholic Protectory (Female)*	OHIO *Cincinnati, House of Refuge*	*Totals*
Number of beds for children	180	850	800	1800	900	450	4980
COST OF LANDS, BUILDINGS ETC.—PER BED							
Lands	$111	$63	$5	$78	$134	$133	$80
Administration Building	139	318	44	139	194	333	182
School House	..	[2]76	..	60	59	27	48
Chapel	195	..	75	56	..	..	39
Hospital	..	..	19	15	56	..	18
Water Supply, Sewage, etc.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Work Shops	233	94	50	83	46	33	74
Boiler House	19	88	31	32	15	56	40
Stables, etc.	31	30	6	15	9	7	15
Additional Buildings	201	100	431	2	..	67	100
Furniture	11	100	63	36	51	[3]40	54
Total	$940	$869	$724	$516	$564	$696	$650
Average number of children for 1 year	178	680	785	1727	800	373	4543

[1] Including kitchen and south rear building. [2] Buildings abandoned in 1907 and school moved to Industry, N. Y. [3] Estimated.

TABLE VI (CONTINUED) CURRENT EXPENSES FOR ONE YEAR—PER CHILD

Salaries	$27	$79	$34	$23	$23	$69	$37
Fuel and Light	2	13	18	6	8	18	10
Provisions	47	61	49	54	54	49	54
Clothing and Bedding	14	22	26	14	13	32	19
School Expenses	13	35	38	14	14	15	21
Miscellaneous	30	24	35	14	14	21	20
Total	$133	$234	$200	$125	$126	$204	$161

TABLE VII.—DELINQUENT CHILDREN—COTTAGE INSTITUTIONS—COST OF LANDS, BUILDINGS, ETC., AND CURRENT EXPENSES

Item	Connecticut *Meriden, School for Boys* [1]	Illinois *Geneva, Training School for Girls*	Illinois *St. Charles, St. Charles School for Boys*	Indiana *Clermont, Indiana Girls' School*	Indiana *Plainfield, Indiana Boys' School* [1]	Maine *Portland, State School for Boys*	Massachusetts *Lancaster, State Industrial School for Girls*	Massachusetts *Westboro, Lyman School for Boys*	Minnesota *Red Wing, State Training School*
Number of beds for children	460	418	500	320	698	140	242	412	400
COST OF LANDS, BUILDINGS, ETC.—PER BED									
Lands	$37	$133	$280	$50	$74	$139	$103	$64	$45
Administration Building	196	179	50	..	89	779	47	27	170
Cottages	163	481	434	868	80	607	570	284	428
School House	..	34	90	..	10	..	5	97	52
Chapel	32	36	..	..	21	..	58	..	..
Hospital	8	..	30	..	21	..	37	29	14
Water Supply, Sewage, etc.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Work shops	..	..	63	..	37	14	..	75	..
Boiler House	27	78	60	49	43	123	..	69	[2]147
Stables, etc.	19	12	36	2	10	159	151	79	8
Additional Buildings	1	..	..	..	56	..	33	..	6
Furniture	35	51	12	19	46	85	88	79	35
Total	$518	$1004	$1055	$988	$487	$1906	$1092	$803	$905
Average number children for 1 year	431	450	392	218	567	141	245	408	402

[1] Combined Cottage and Congregate. [2] Including workshops.

TABLE VII (CONTINUED) CURRENT EXPENSES FOR ONE YEAR—PER CHILD

Salaries	$50	$76	$77	$56	$46	$70	$74	$57	$70
Fuel and Light	14	29	46	21	12	26	23	21	21
Provisions	48	36	41	38	25	49	33	48	39
Clothing and Bedding	11	13	[3]13	24	24	14	19	22	[3]14
School Expenses	17	12	16	52	6	16	32	33	14
Miscellaneous	35	19	53	60	15	52	65	63	11
Total	$175	$185	$246	$251	$128	$227	$246	$244	$169

[3] Exclusive of bedding.

TABLE VII (CONTINUED).—DELINQUENT CHILDREN—COTTAGE INSTITUTIONS—COST OF LANDS, BUILDINGS, ETC., AND CURRENT EXPENSES

Item	NEW JERSEY *Jamesburg, State Home for Boys*	NEW YORK *Hawthorne, Jewish Protectory*	NEW YORK *Industry, State Agricultural and Industrial School*	OHIO *Hudson, Cleveland Boys' Home*	OHIO *Lancaster, Boys' Industrial School*	RHODE ISLAND *Howard, Sockanosset School for Boys*	WISCONSIN *Milwaukee, Industrial School for Girls*	WISCONSIN *Waukesha, Industrial School for Boys*	*Totals*
Number of beds for children	510	300	640	133	1220	425	245	420	7483
COST OF PLANT—PER BED									
Lands	$59	$284	[2]$223	$107	$49	$4	$73	$98	$102
Administration Building	69	283	41	75	33	35	163	100	100
Cottages	206	457	350	160	208	235	310	233	314
School House	..	..	..	75	29	..	12	48	..
Chapel	31	..	61	..	16	[5]94	25	..	..
Hospital	16	50	30	..	16	..	..	32	..
Water Supply, Sewage, etc.	..	318	..	..	20	..	..	..	..
Workshops	[1]80	..	80	29	27	159	..	..	38
Boiler House	34	255	71	93	67	39	64	[6]151	74
Stables, etc.	67	..	33	..	10	31	12	26	31
Additional Buildings	34	200	34	..	174	..	10	28	134
Furniture	64	37	56	[3]213	[4]23	33	60	51	47
Total	$660	$1884	$979	$752	$672	$630	$729	$767	$840
Average number children for 1 year	509	183	606	120	1055	386	228	363	6704

[1] Including Trades School.
[2] Including original buildings.
[3] Including stock and general equipment.
[4] Estimated.
[5] Including hospital.
[6] Including chapel and workshops.

TABLE VII (CONTINUED) CURRENT EXPENSES FOR ONE YEAR—PER CHILD

Salaries	$44	$61	$107	$59	$28	$29	$39	$67	$57
Fuel and Light	8	41	24	24	19	13	17	25	21
Provisions	27	47	35	50	52	33	46	41	40
Clothing and Bedding	13	19	18	39	25	27	17	19	19
School Expenses	13	41	38	25	20	27	22	24	22
Miscellaneous	70	46	23	89	27	27	28	14	36
Total	$175	$255	$245	$286	$171	$156	$169	$190	$195

TABLE VIII.—DEPENDENT CHILDREN—CONGREGATE INSTITUTIONS—COST OF LANDS, BUILDINGS, ETC., AND CURRENT EXPENSES

Item	CONNECTICUT *New Haven, New Haven Orphan Asylum*	CONNECTICUT *New Haven, St. Francis Orphan Asylum*	CONNECTICUT *Norwalk, Fairfield County Temporary Home*	CONNECTICUT *Winsted, Wm. L. Gilbert Home*	ILLINOIS *Feehanville, St. Mary's Training School*	MICHIGAN *Detroit, Protestant Orphan Asylum*	MINNESOTA *Minneapolis, Washburn Memorial Orphan Asylum*	NEW JERSEY *Hopewell, St. Michael's Orphan Asylum*	NEW JERSEY *Newark, Protestant Foster Home*
Number of beds for children	141	460	80	270	462	135	122	240	110
COST OF LANDS, BUILDINGS, ETC.—PER BED									
Lands	[1]$43	$61	$58	$74	$255	$104	$461	$83	$91
Administration Building	[2]188	506	241	333	119	262	902	562	455
School House	99	..	63	93	..	..	..	..	..
Chapel	..	..	..	..	57	..	..	..	..
Hospital	46	..	63	9	110	..	..	..	..
Water Supply, Sewage, etc.	..	..	..	..	..	..	123	..	..
Workshops	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Boiler House	..	72	..	..	[3]151	16	47	62	..
Stables, etc.	..	..	..	8	2	..	82	63	..
Additional Buildings	18	22	6	..	675	2	..	38	..
Furniture	32	50	50	37	34	29	41	42	36
Total	$426	$711	$481	$554	$1403	$413	$1656	$850	$582
Average number children for 1 year	122	392	80	265	453	127	103	225	112

[1] Donated.

[2] Includes nursery cottage, $60.

[3] Including workshops.

TABLE VIII (CONTINUED) CURRENT EXPENSES FOR ONE YEAR—PER CHILD

Salaries	$46	$12	$51	$33	$14	$34	$76	$16	$25
Fuel and Light	15	6	10	12	19	9	19	5	9
Provisions	49	38	91	37	35	32	46	39	47
Clothing and Bedding	10	9	15	11	6	9	16	5	13
School Expenses	[4]10	[5]1	18	7	13	[6]..	15	7	14
Miscellaneous	54	18	24	12	4	13	23	12	13
Total	$184	$84	$209	$112	$91	$97	$195	$84	$121

[4] Teachers paid by city. [5] Other teachers paid by city. [6] Children sent to public school.

TABLE VIII (CONTINUED).—DEPENDENT CHILDREN—CONGREGATE INSTITUTIONS—COST OF LANDS, BUILDINGS, ETC., AND CURRENT EXPENSES

Item	New York *Buffalo, Buffalo Orphan Asylum*	New York *Buffalo, German Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum*	Ohio *Cincinnati, Children's Home* [7]	Ohio *Cincinnati, St. Joseph Orphanage*	Ohio *Cleveland, Jewish Orphan Asylum*	Ohio *Cleveland, Protestant Orphan Asylum*	Pennsylvania *Erie, St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum*	Wisconsin *Milwaukee, St Rose's Orphan Asylum*	*Totals*
Number of beds for children	150	412	[4]85	450	510	94	220	130	4071
COST OF LANDS, BUILDINGS, ETC.—PER BED									
Lands	[1]..	$42	$471	$27	$98	$266	$35	$46	$107
Administration Building	$567	425	912	284	392	[9]1170	318	346	404
School House	..	..	..	..	78	..	..	..	..
Chapel	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hospital	..	..	..	..	94	..	11	..	..
Water Supply, Sewage, etc.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Work Shops	..	..	..	..	20	..	..	..	..
Boiler House	..	61	82	78	29	..	7	17	..
Stables, etc.	..	12	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Additional Buildings	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	204
Furniture	33	[10]30	206	[10]27	75	..	5	65	43
Total	$600	$570	$1671	$416	$788	$1436	$376	$474	$758
Average number children for 1 year	123	342	[8]123	288	487	76	273	111	3702

[1] Donated. [7] Also maintain Day Nursery, providing for about 60 day children.
[8] About 60 are day children, averaging two meals daily and some clothing. [9] Including furniture. [10] Estimated.

TABLE VIII (CONTINUED) CURRENT EXPENSES FOR ONE YEAR—PER CHILD

Salaries	$52	$15	$80	$13	$51	$81	$12	$9	$29
Fuel and Light	12	7	11	7	11	13	2	7	10
Provisions	41	36	39	41	48	84	40	33	42
Clothing and Bedding	6	9	4	6	15	12	9	8	9
School Expenses	[8]. .	[8]. .	4	3	36	8	1	10	10
Miscellaneous	18	8	21	14	30	129	4	3	18
Total	$129	$75	$159	$84	$191	$327	$68	$70	$118

[8] Furnished by Board of Education.

TABLE IX.—DEPENDENT CHILDREN—COTTAGE INSTITUTIONS—COST OF PLANT AND CURRENT EXPENSES

Item	Illinois *Glenwood, Manual Training School Farm*	Illinois *Normal, Soldiers' Orphans' Home* [2]	Indiana *Terre Haute, Rose Orphan Home*	Maine *Hinckley, Good Will Farm*	Michigan *Coldwater State Public School*	Minnesota *Owatonna, State Public School*	New York *Albany, Albany Orphan Asylum*	New York *Pleasantville, Hebrew S. G. Soc. Orphan Asylum* [5, 9]	New York *Rochester, Rochester Orphan Asylum*	Wisconsin *Sparta, State Public School*	*Totals*
Number of beds for children	352	280	93	191	200	210	130	510	111	200	2277
COST OF LANDS, BUILDINGS, ETC.—PER BED											
Lands	$284	$100	$177	$52	$165	$136	$131	$207	$243	$79	$168
Administration Building	185	393	..	..	338	405	377	168	181	139	224
Cottages	270	107	1460	347	277	262	554	488	514	252	380
School House	71	71	..	120	63	88	..	..	127	32	53
Chapel	14	43	..	79	...	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hospital	37	43	..	..	38	50	..	13	16	50	27
Water, Sewage, etc.	..	..	..	..	201	..	..	109	..	..	..
Work Shops	[1] 153	82	..	124	..	..	..	102	..	..	67
Boiler House	..	89	..	..	110	214	..	169	..	166	93
Stables, etc.	23	36	..	42	71	57	11	..	20	45	28
Additional Buildings	..	..	..	..	25	31	177	59	7	[4] 51	89
Furniture	64	54	79	105	[3] 87	47	29	..	78	70	52
Total	$1101	$1018	$1716	$869	$1375	$1290	$1279	$1315	$1186	$884	$1181
Average number children for 1 year	330	269	96	174	168	201	130	740	109	170	2387

[1] Including boiler house.
[2] Combined Cottage and Congregate.
[3] Including farm machinery, stock, etc.
[4] Including miscellaneous items.
[5] Figures for cost of plant taken from estimates on proposed buildings.

TABLE IX (CONTINUED) CURRENT EXPENSES FOR ONE YEAR—PER CHILD

Salaries	$80	$78	$50	$51	$65	$85	$52	$31	$72	$94	$60
Fuel and Light	18	22	15	16	33	23	13	9	22	44	19
Provisions	36	72	73	57	67	46	53	51	38	47	53
Clothing and Bedding	7	18	13	3	[8] 4	26	8	[8] 19	[6] 11	17	14
School Expenses	20	28	7	41	16	16	26	13	[7] ..	14	18
Miscellaneous	21	24	63	10	40	22	39	38	16	56	32
Total	$182	$242	$221	$178	$225	$218	$191	$161	$159	$272	$196

[6] Including furniture. [7] Teachers paid by city. [8] Exclusive of bedding.

[9] Figures for current expenses relate to present plant, 150th Street and Broadway, New York.

TABLE X.—CONSOLIDATED PAYROLLS—INSTITUTIONS FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN[1]

MONTHLY SALARIES OF EMPLOYES[2]

Institution		*Superintendent*	*Matron*	*Caretakers*	*Teachers*	*Chief Engineer*	*Head Farmer and Gardener or Florist*	*Chief Cook and Baker*
DEPENDENT CHILDREN—CONGREGATE INSTITUTIONS—								
Protestant Orphan Asylum, Detroit, Mich. .	Number	1	1	6	[4]	1	..	1
	Maximum	[3]$100	[3]	$30	..	$30	..	$30
	Minimum	..	..	16	..	..	..	..
	Average	..	..	20	..	..	..	..
Buffalo Orphan Asylum, Buffalo, N. Y. .	Number	1	..	[2] 11	[6]	1	..	1
	Maximum	$75	..	$40	..	$70	..	$30
	Minimum	..	..	6	..	..	..	..
	Average	..	..	17	..	..	..	..
DEPENDENT CHILDREN—COTTAGE INSTITUTIONS—								
Illinois Manual Training School Farm, Glenwood, Ill.	Number	1	..	12	11	1	2	2
	Maximum	$100	..	$55	$75	$80	$55	$90
	Minimum	..	..	25	35	..	50	65
	Average	..	..	28	50	..	53	78
Illinois Soldiers' Orphans' Home, Normal, Ill.	Number	1	1	12	[7] 12	1	1	2
	Maximum	$167	$75	$45	$60	$75	$40	$45
	Minimum	..	..	18	20	..	..	40
	Average	..	..	28	52	..	..	43
State Public School, Coldwater, Mich.. .	Number	1	1	8	5	1	2	2
	Maximum	$167	$30	$50	$35	$76	$58	$42
	Minimum	..	..	25	30	..	58	25
	Average	..	..	31	32	..	58	33

[1] Published by permission of the institution. [2] Unless otherwise stated, employes enumerated below receive maintenance.
[3] Superintendent and Matron draw joint salary. [4] Children sent to public school. [6] Teachers paid by Board of Education.
[5] In addition, 4 receive board for 1 child and 1 receives board for 2 children. [7] Non-resident, one or more meals at institution.

TABLE X (CONTINUED)

State Public School, Owatonna, Minn.	Number	1	1	12	6	1	2	2
	Maximum	$225	$44	$50	$45	$70	$60	$45
	Minimum	..	..	15	35	..	56	25
	Average	..	..	32	40	..	58	35
Albany Orphan Asylum, Albany, N. Y.	Number	1	..	10	5	1	1	[10] 2
	Maximum	$150	..	$35	$35	$30	[9] $60	$25
	Minimum	..	..	15	[8] 15	..	..	25
	Average	..	..	22	29	..	..	25
Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Orphan Asylum, New York	Number	1	1	21	10	1	..	1
	Maximum	$375	$80	$40	$70	[7] $75	..	$40
	Minimum	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Average	..	..	30	34	..	..	..
State Public School, Sparta, Wis.	Number	..	1	8	5	1	2	1
	Maximum	1	$42	$40	$30	$55	$35	$60
	Minimum	$150	..	15	30	..	35	..
	Average	..	..	27	30	..	35	..

[7] Non-resident, one or more meals at institution. [8] Music teacher, non-resident. [9] Without maintenance.
[10] For Superintendent's and teachers' cottages only.

TABLE XI—CONSOLIDATED PAYROLLS—INSTITUTIONS FOR DELINQUENT CHILDREN[1]

MONTHLY SALARIES OF EMPLOYES[2]

Institution		*Superintendent*	*Matron*	*Caretakers*	*Teachers*	*Chief Engineer*	*Head Farmer and Gardener or Florist*	*Chief Cook and Baker*
DELINQUENT CHILDREN—CONGREGATE INSTITUTIONS—								
House of Refuge, Randall's Island, N. Y. .	Number	1	..	34	[3] 39	1	2	2
	Maximum	$333	..	$60	$128	$100	$60	$60
	Minimum	..	..	20	50	..	50	50
	Average	..	..	41	63	..	55	55
New York Catholic Protectory (Female Department), Westchester, N. Y. . .	Number	..	..	..	..	1	2	2
	Maximum	..	..	..	..	[4] $85	[4] $65	$60
	Minimum	..	..	..	..	..	25	20
	Average	..	..	..	..	..	45	40
New York Catholic Protectory (Male Department), Westchester, N. Y. . .	Number	..	..	1	[3] 22	1	2	2
	Maximum	..	..	$21	$115	[4] $110	[4] $70	$80
	Minimum	..	..	..	25	..	35	[4] 66
	Average	..	..	..	57	..	53	73
DELINQUENT CHILDREN—COTTAGE INSTITUTIONS—								
Training School for Girls, Geneva, Ill. . .	Number	1	1	45	7	1	2	..
	Maximum	$208	$40	$50	$75	[6] $100	[6] $65	..
	Minimum	..	..	25	45	..	40	..
	Average	..	..	..	49	..	53	..

[1] Published by permission of the institution.
[2] Unless otherwise stated, employes enumerated below receive maintenance.
[3] Scholastic Department (principal and 16 teachers) without maintenance.
[4] Non-resident; one or more meals at institution.
[5] 16 are trade school instructors; 18 non-resident, one or more meals at institution.
[6] Without maintenance.

TABLE XI (CONTINUED)

St. Charles School for Boys, St. Charles, Ill. .	Number	1	1	31	6	1	2	2
	Maximum	$250	$50	$50	$100	$100	$100	$50
	Minimum	..	..	25	50	..	[6] 60	[6] 50
	Average	..	..	39	67	..	80	50
Indiana Girls' School, Clermont, Ind. . . .	Number	1	1	7	4	1	2	..
	Maximum	$125	$40	$30	$45	$85	$75	..
	Minimum	..	..	30	..	..	30	..
	Average	..	..	30	..	..	53	..
Indiana Boys' School, Plainfield, Ind.. .	Number	1	1	8	6	1	2	2
	Maximum	$150	$35	$30	$70	$75	$60	$49
	Minimum	..	..	17	21	..	55	25
	Average	..	..	20	44	..	58	37
Lyman School for Boys, Westboro, Mass. .	Number	1	1	25	[8] 19	1	1	1
	Maximum	$183	$33	[7] ..	$92	[5] $75	$42	$75
	Minimum	..	..	25	33	..	..	..
	Average	..	..	36	54	..	..	..
Minnesota State Training School, Red Wing, Minn.	Number	1	1	[8] 7	12	1	2	1
	Maximum	$225	$60	$63	$60	[3] $88	[10] $75	$55
	Minimum	..	..	40	30	..	55	35
	Average	..	..	50	39	..	65	45

[3] Non-resident; one or more meals at institution. [5] Without maintenance. [6] Non-resident, with rent.
[7] Seven cottages supervised by married couples on joint salaries. Maximum joint salary, $100; minimum single salary, $42.
[8] Three without maintenance; trade school instructors included in the 19. [9] Two non-resident, meals at institution. [10] Also caretaker.

TABLE XI (CONTINUED)

MONTHLY SALARIES OF EMPLOYES

Institution		*Superintendent*	*Matron*	*Caretakers*	*Teachers*	*Chief Engineer*	*Head Farmer and Gardener or Florist*	*Chief Cook and Baker*
Jewish Protectory, Hawthorne, N. Y.	Number	1	..	10	7	1	1	2
	Maximum	$208	..	$35	$45	$85	$85	$50
	Minimum	..	..	20	30	..	..	40
	Average	..	..	28	..	..	..	45
State Agricultural and Industrial School, Industry, N. Y.	Number	1	1	54	[11] 29	1	2	1
	Maximum	$292	$83	$57	$84	[3] $92	$100	$35
	Minimum	..	..	22	38	..	53	..
	Average	..	..	34	64	..	77	..
Boys' Industrial School, Lancaster, Ohio	Number	1	1	43	23	1	2	2
	Maximum	$167	$33	$45	$100	$55	$75	$60
	Minimum	..	..	10	30	..	40	50
	Average	..	..	31	37	..	58	[12] 55
Industrial School for Girls, Milwaukee, Wis.	Number	1	..	12	8	1	1	
	Maximum	$83	..	$35	35	$40	$35	..
	Minimum	..	..	20	30	..	..	..
	Average	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Industrial School for Boys, Waukesha, Wis.	Number	1	1	[14] 21	[13] 6	1	2	2
	Maximum	$208	$42	$80	$80	[4] $85	$50	[6] $80
	Minimum	..	..	30	30	..	[6] 45	45
	Average	..	..	51	51	..	48	63

[4] Non-resident; one or more meals at institution.
[6] Without maintenance.
[11] Seven non-resident, one or more meals at institution; trade school instructors included in the 29.
[12] Girls do cooking under supervision of housekeepers.
[13] Seven act also as teachers.
[14] Two without maintenance.

CHAPTER VIII

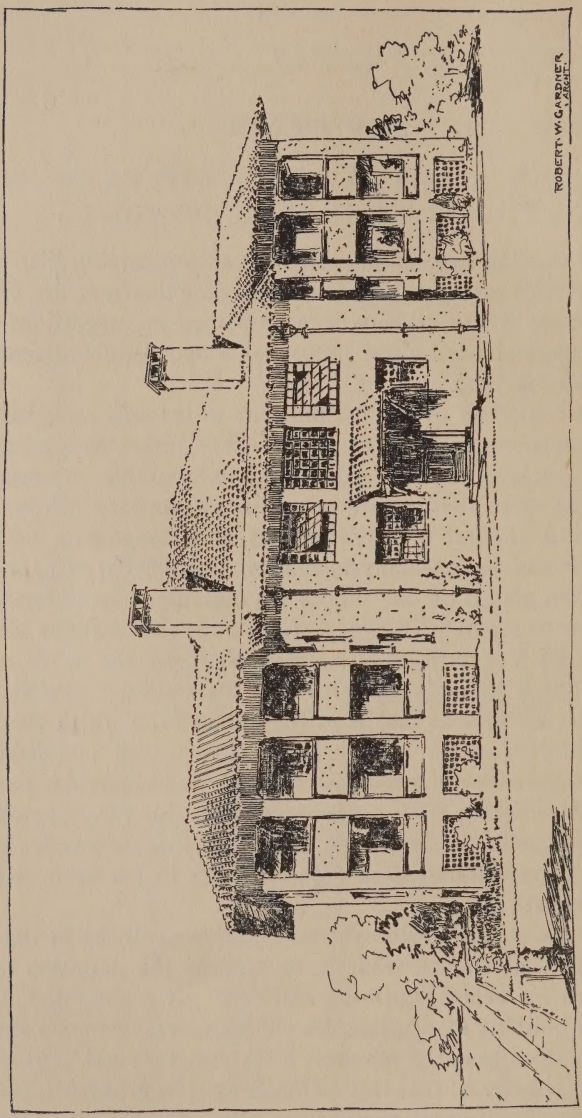
PLANS FOR A CHILDREN'S COTTAGE WITH OUTDOOR SLEEPING PORCHES

THE following suggestions, with the accompanying plans for a children's cottage with outdoor sleeping quarters, are original with the writer, having been embodied in suggestions made to the managers of the Laurel Industrial School for delinquent boys at Laurel, Va., in 1909.

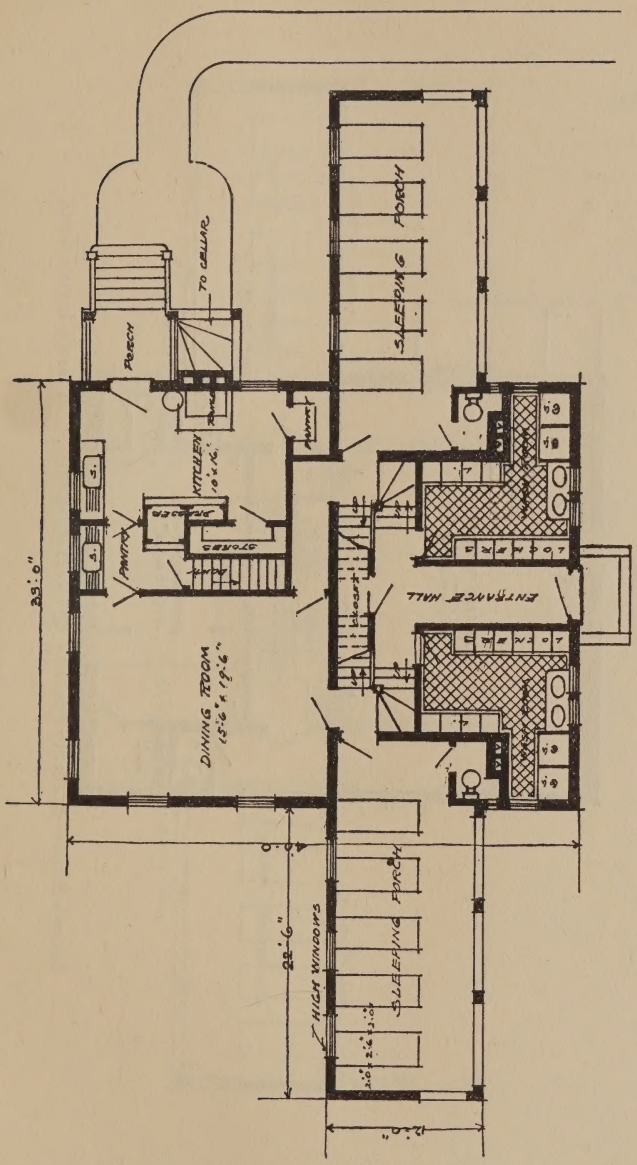
At least one-half of all children sent to juvenile reformatories, orphan asylums, etc., are physically defective, either because of bad heredity, or because of poor feeding and unfavorable environment.

Many of these children are taken from insanitary surroundings of homes, and are put into dormitories in a congregate building. These dormitories have usually insufficient ventilation and sunlight. They are often placed on one side of the building, where cross ventilation cannot be secured, and they are so built that window ventilation cannot be had without a direct draft upon the heads of the sleepers. It is a common thing to find the sanitary conditions in such dormitories quite as bad as in the homes from which these unfortunate children come. The practice is now well established of providing outdoor sleeping porches, not only for tubercular patients and patients suffering from pneumonia, but also for crippled, deformed and anemic children, who are either sick or physically defective, yet these children sleep with impunity in the open, without deleterious effects.

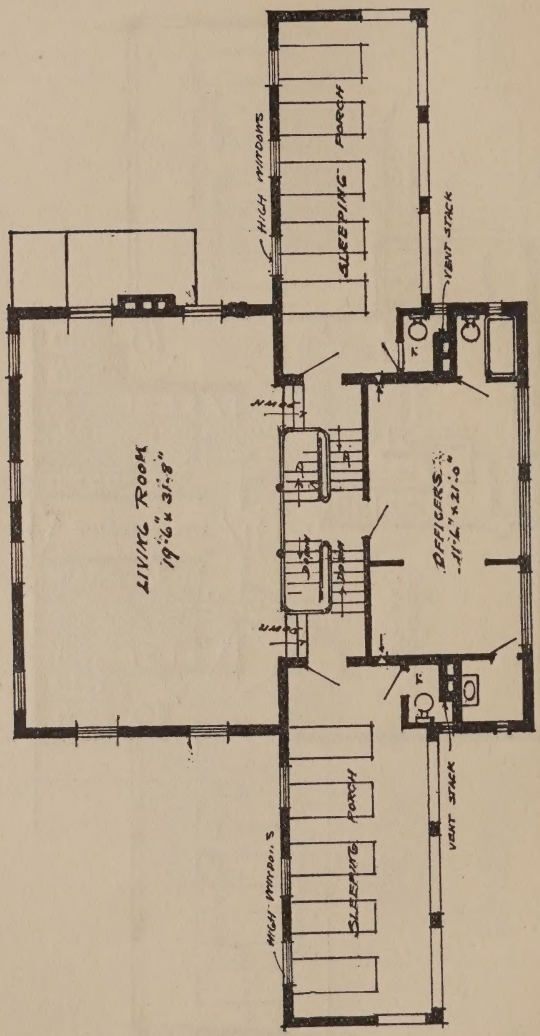
If sick people and feeble anemic children can sleep in the open air with beneficial effects, what is to prevent the adoption of the same method for healthy growing children? It is proposed, therefore, that in building institutions for children, arrangements shall be made for outdoor sleeping porches for at least 33 per cent of the children. It is believed that this method might be profitably adopted for the entire institution population. Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, superintendent of the Philadelphia Girls' House of Refuge has for years slept out of doors with a considerable portion of her girls.



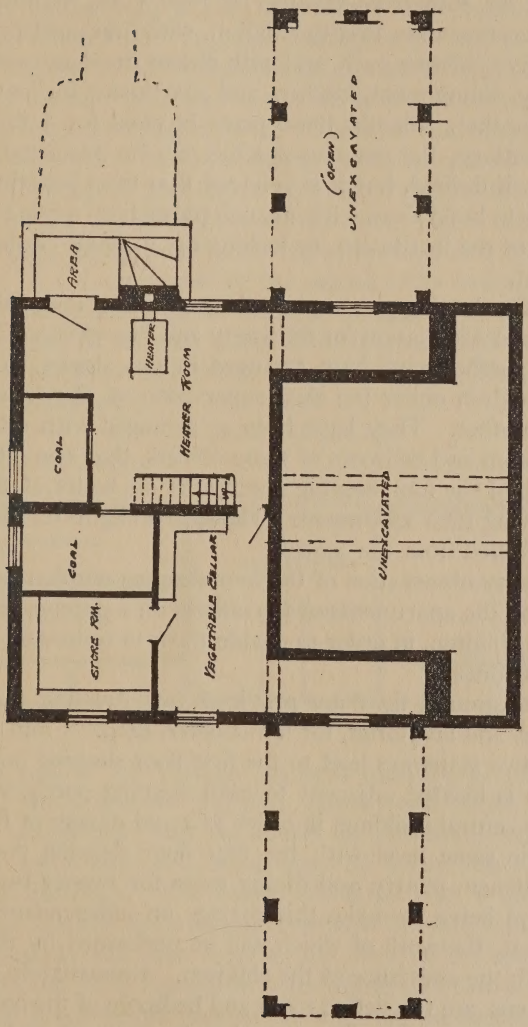
CHILDREN'S COTTAGE WITH OUTDOOR SLEEPING PORCHES
Designed by Hastings H. Hart; Executed by Robert W. Gardner



First Floor—Sleeping Porches, Dressing Rooms, Dining Room, Kitchen



SECOND FLOOR—SLEEPING PORCHES, OFFICERS' QUARTERS, CHILDREN'S LIVING ROOM



BASEMENT—FURNACE ROOM, CELLARS

Plans for a Cottage with Outdoor Sleeping Porches

Plans have been prepared, therefore, by the author, with the assistance of Mr. Robert W. Gardner, of New York, Architect, for a cottage to accommodate twenty children, with four outdoor sleeping porches for five children each, and with indoor dressing rooms, bathrooms, study, dining room, kitchen, and apartments for house father and house mother. Should these plans be used for a juvenile reformatory cottage, the sleeping porches can be protected by steel lattice work, if desired, but it is believed that most superintendents would prefer to build them without such protection, relying upon the moral force of the institution, or locking up the day clothes of the boys at night.

Plans for sleeping porches have been prepared under the advice of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis. The porches have been arranged in two stories, in order to bring the children under the close supervision of the house father and house mother. They have been so arranged with reference to the sitting room and bedroom of those officers, that the officers can observe each of the four sleeping porches at all hours of the night, without leaving their apartment. The electric lights on the porches will be controlled from the centre.

The ready observation of the four sleeping porches is provided for by setting the apartments of the officers on a different level from those of the children, in order to enable them to command a view of two floors at once.

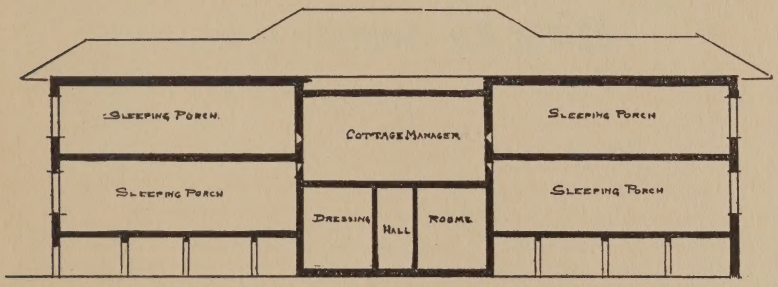
On the ground floor are provided two dressing rooms with locker, baths and lavatories, for ten children each. From the dressing rooms, two stairways lead to the first floor sleeping porches. A night toilet is located adjacent to each sleeping porch, within the walls of the central building, in order to avoid danger of freezing.

On the same level with the first floor sleeping porches are provided kitchen, pantry and dining room for twenty-two persons; the intention being to make this cottage an independent domestic establishment, the work of which will be performed by the cottage mother, with the assistance of the children. Immediately above the dressing rooms are the sitting room and bedroom of the house father and house mother, who are expected to be husband and wife; the husband to be employed in some capacity in connection with the institution. These two rooms are supplied with large front windows, and are so arranged that cross ventilation can be provided.

Four feet higher than the officers' rooms are the second floor sleeping porches, and, on the same level, the children's study, arranged with windows on three sides, looking east, north and west. The study immediately adjoins the officers' apartments, and will be overlooked therefrom. By this arrangement the house mother, without leaving her own apartment, can exercise immediate oversight over the four sleeping rooms and the children's study.

The accompanying drawing illustrates the manner in which the sleeping porches can be overseen from the officers' apartments.

This cottage is planned to be built of glazed hollow tile, with floors of hollow tile and reinforced concrete. This construction will apply to the sleeping porches as well as to the central portion of the cottage. It will apply also to the second-story ceilings. The roof will be of tile, wooden joists and roof boards. The wooden portion of the roof will be the only inflammable part of the building, except the doors, windows and maple floors for the children's study and officers' apartments.



Cross-section, Showing Sleeping Porches

The cost of this cottage has been carefully estimated by the architect, the figures for the tiles, cement and mason work being based on actual bids, and the figures for the plumbing, woodwork, roof work, metal work, etc., being based on the architect's experience in similar buildings. The entire estimated cost is $11,100. The cost of this cottage could be much reduced in some places, by building of wood, as has been done at the Good Will Farm, Hinckley, Maine, and the State Agricultural and Industrial School at Industry, N. Y.; but it is believed that, in the long run, the fireproof construction will be both cheaper and more sanitary.

The commission appointed to select a site, and make preliminary plans for the New York State Training School for Boys, has

estimated the cost of building fifty dormitory cottages for sixteen boys each, at $11,000 per cottage. This cottage will cost the same, and will provide for twenty children instead of sixteen, which is an increase of 25 per cent in capacity.

We are inclined to the opinion that within a few years new institutions for children will provide outdoor sleeping for at least the majority of the inmates. We are not prepared at this time to make a sweeping recommendation, but have no hesitation in expressing the belief that outdoor sleeping accommodation should be provided for at least 25 per cent of the children in the average juvenile reformatory, or home for dependent children.

PART FOUR
CHILD-HELPING SOCIETIES

CHAPTER IX

THE FULL MEASURE OF RESPONSIBILITY IN CHILD-HELPING WORK

By WILLIAM H. PEAR*
Manager of the Provident Society, Boston, Mass.

GENUINE help can be rendered to those in need only when full responsibility is realized and accepted, and when scientific inquiry—*i. e.*, diagnosis of the need—is followed by assistance which aims to remove the cause of the need, or by relief that is adequate, so far as that is possible. The fact that one has it in his power to offer a certain kind of assistance is no reason why he should address himself simply to the question of giving or withholding that assistance: considering merely whether he can take the child as asked, instead of that vastly important consideration, should the child be taken from its family at all.

Many years ago a long advance step was taken in removing the dependent child from the almshouse, and the hospitable asylum rose to supply the need. Then the development of the placing-out system came in some instances to replace, and quite generally to supplement and modify, the work of the asylum. During the past twenty years we have focussed our attention on the question how best to care for the children; the relative merits of the placing-out and the institution methods have been discussed. We now turn our attention to this other very important phase of our work, the need of what may be called case diagnosis and its attendant responsibilities.

Here is an obligation not to be shirked. It rests upon every agency at the moment when the individual child seeks admission to its care, for there is always a chance that there may be no other human agency to intervene between that child and want or even calamity. The responsibility at this point is yours and you must

*As an introduction to the study of the work of child-helping societies, we here insert a paper on The Full Measure of Responsibility in Child-helping Work which was presented at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1906, and which, in the judgment of the author, embodies the essential principles which should govern the work of child-helping societies.

face it. These applicants are seldom far-sighted. They are in distress, and they do not know what they really need. One of two things, therefore, must be done: you must either deal with the situation yourself or put the applicants in touch with the best service that your community affords. In any case there can be no such thing as proper and adequate assistance without careful diagnosis of the need; and if we regard the occasion as one in which we have merely to decide whether or not to receive the child into our institution, we have not struck the pace which present day standards require.

Consider the situation for a moment from the point of view of the community. It must be admitted that the social forces of any community are very inadequately organized if there is not some place where the needs of a child in want can be analyzed, and a remedy suggested and applied. If a child is ill, it is possible to have the case diagnosed speedily and prescribed for in a dispensary, or treated in a hospital clinic, by an individual physician skilled in the work he is called upon to do. But if a child is in need, or if, as is often the case, family need is thought by relatives and friends to be child need, in how many places can the same skilful treatment be assured?

It may perhaps be conceded that the most scientific and economically sound plan, in theory, would be to have a central bureau of inquiry and advice, where all cases of child need might be diagnosed, and to which all helping agencies might refer all applicants. With such a single bureau duplication of effort would be avoided at the outset. But it is obvious that such a plan only needs to be stated to reveal any number of practical difficulties. The very size of a city like New York, for example, as well as the definite classification of its organizations, no doubt makes the single bureau at once impracticable. Nevertheless the two main features of such a plan are apparent and well worth noting for the purpose of seeing how far it may be possible to approximate them. These are: (1) the elimination of waste effort, and (2) the thoroughness and skill with which the work is done.

Whether or not the first object is attained by the plan of a single bureau need not matter, provided there is effective co-operation between agencies in their work. But the second and more important consideration, the thoroughness and skill with which the work is done, demands our earnest consideration. Such a bureau as I have referred to would be a sort of clearing house, officered

Brother and Sisters Rescued by the Western Virginia Children's Home Society

by experts, whose experience would constantly grow more valuable through the large number of cases with which they would deal. The agents should be shrewd and trained observers, with some clear understanding of the symptoms of mental and physical, as well as moral, defects or disorder, and they should be in close touch with consulting physicians. They should be men and women of character and trained intelligence; sympathetic, constructively imaginative, wise; with an understanding of human nature, and a wide knowledge of the community's resources for help. And besides these qualities they should have this keen sense of their responsibility for the maintenance and development of the highest possible standards. Here we would have an agency which would resemble, in its function, a combination of dispensary and hospital; ready to diagnose and to refer, as the need required, to special agencies for expert work in special lines.

For the purpose of outlining the various stages through which the work of such a bureau should proceed, I wish to call attention to eight essential principles:

(1) Co-operation: Keeping in close touch with all agencies to prevent duplication of effort at the outset (an end best attained through a central registration bureau), or uniting effectively with another agency in working out a plan agreed upon.

(2) Diagnosis of the need: The work of an expert investigator with constructive imagination to determine the underlying, not the apparent, cause of the need.

(3) Decision as to the remedy: The plan for attacking and, so far as possible, removing the cause; involving, besides a keen analysis of all the features of the case, the determination as to the precise conditions to be required of all concerned; what measure of financial responsibility should be borne by relatives, etc.

(4) Application of the remedy: Making effective the decision. One of the most important considerations, its employment or its absence marking the distinction between effective effort and cheap advice.

(5) Responsibility, direct and indirect, upon admission: That is to say, the direct responsibility for the proper care of the child, and the indirect responsibility for observation, and, if necessary, for definite action, to enforce or assist in carrying out the conditions prescribed. This latter may involve some definite action, quite apart from the care of the child.

(6) Investigation before discharge: In cases where the child

has been taken, the necessary assurance that discharge is justified and proper; that conditions have been complied with; or it may be the discovery that further extension of care is imperative, if all that has been done is not to go for naught.

(7) Subsequent inquiry to learn results: That very necessary step by which to test the real value of our work, and, in many instances, the one instrument with which to make our work effective.

(8) Tabulation of results: The necessary statistical work by means of which the valuable record of our experience is made serviceable for study and for future guidance, and of the character of the work done by other agencies with whom we may have co-operated.

A true story will illustrate the working of these principles. Some years ago Mrs. Blank, a widow, asked the Boston Children's Aid Society to take, for a few weeks, her two children, aged four and a half and three. She said that she was tired, and thought a few weeks' freedom from the care of the little ones would be a great relief. Admitting the premise, which was evident, her conclusion was, after seeing the children, easy to reach. The woman was working in a shop for $4.50 per week, and living with her aged parents in one of the suburbs, the man not strong, but working some, and the old woman just able to do the housework. It was easy to see that all was not well with the mother physically.

Inquiry at the registration bureau of the Associated Charities showed that they had no record of the family, nor had any inquiry concerning the woman or children been made by any other agency. Note here the first step in *co-operation.* Investigation at the home confirmed the mother's story, and also revealed the fact that she had a serious illness, for which a physician had long before advised an operation. It was clear, therefore, that simply to take the children for a few weeks, at first sight a kindly thing to do, would be no real help.

She was at length persuaded, though only after repeated interviews, to allow our agent to accompany her to one of our consulting physicians, a woman, who confirmed the finding of the other physician. *Diagnosis of the need:* the mother's health should be restored, if possible, so that she can stand some chance of continuing to support her children. *Decision as to the remedy:* she should be sent to a hospital for the operation, which will be performed by our physician, and in the meantime the children must be cared for without expense to her. This definite decision is therefore given and

recorded: "John and Sarah are to be boarded in a family at the expense of the society. Case to be reconsidered in four weeks."

Now comes the *application of the remedy.* The appointed time for mother and children to come to the office arrived, but they did not come. She had decided that she "can't do it, after all." This our investigating agent discovered on going to look them up. Further argument followed, and at length prevailed, and the little family reached the office in charge of the agent, who had not dared to leave the woman for fear she would not hold to her purpose.

We now enter the fifth stage: *Direct responsibility* for the good care of the children, and *indirect responsibility* for the mother. She must be conducted to the very door of the hospital by the investigating agent, while the placing-out visitor takes the children to the family that she had carefully chosen. A slight suspicion regarding their physical condition, however, caused her to take them first to the Eye and Ear Infirmary, where adenoids were removed and an ear treated.

As the case is to be reconsidered in four weeks, the investigating agent makes an entry on her daily calendar, and when the day arrives she learns from the doctor the mother's condition; in other words, here is *investigation before discharge.* The doctor reports that the woman has made a good recovery, but needs at least three weeks' rest in the country before going to work. It is accordingly decided to extend the time and arrange for the woman to go to a convalescent home. Again the agent makes a note on the calendar, and again, when the day arrives, she learns the mother's condition. This time it is found to be excellent, and accordingly they all return home.

At the time of giving the decision to discharge the children, we decided on a definite plan for *subsequent inquiry,* to learn results: an inquiry in two weeks to be sure that the woman's strength is proving sufficient to enable her to work. Another inquiry, made a year later, resulted in the woman's calling to tell how she was getting on, and bringing with her a friend who was in trouble. "I have brought her," she said, "because you make people do things that are good for them, whether they want to or not."

As to the eighth principle, the *tabulation of results:* the reason that this case is available for illustration is because there is a card in our "topical index" headed, "Parents, work for—case of John and Sarah Blank."

Two kinds of cases especially require the most careful and

scientific dealing, and together they form a very large proportion of all that are received. First, those in which the separation of the children from their parents should be permitted only upon certain conditions which aim at reconstruction. The case just described is an example of this very large class. Simply to remove the children from the family as requested would have been as purposeless and ineffectual as for a physician to treat symptoms instead of the disease. It was proper and necessary here to take the children, but the separation was only justified by the effort made to restore the mother's health.

Then there is another kind of case which comes in a great variety of forms and which may safely be said to include more than half of all that are presented to a children's aid society: the case in which the separation of the child from the family is quite unnecessary and therefore improper. Take for example the case of a young Swedish couple, who recently asked to have their baby taken so that the woman could go out to work and add to the income. The man was earning $11 per week and nearly all went for food and rent. Here was a case for a friendly visitor who would go into the home and teach the young wife ordinary household economies, how to provide, how to cook, etc. To take a child away under such circumstances would be distinctly wrong; instead, the case was placed in the hands of the Associated Charities for visiting the home.

Work is conducted along the lines here indicated by the Boston Children's Aid Society and other Boston societies and by the children's aid societies of New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, by the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society and, on a smaller scale, by other child-helping societies.

But the practical question arises: What are the smaller independent societies to do, with no such equipment possible as is possessed by the large agency? A brief description of one or two ways in which different societies in and near Boston have sought to solve the problem may be suggestive.

First, as to the day nurseries. Some years ago, several of the day nurseries entered into an agreement with the Children's Aid Society by which they reported to the society's bureau of information every case in which they refused admission to the nurseries for any cause whatever. Thus they discharged their responsibility toward all who came to them.

Later came the formation of a new admission committee in one of the nurseries. After requesting the Children's Aid Society

A Ward of the New York Children's Aid Society in a Texas Foster Home

to do for them all work of investigation and admission, the managers finally adopted this plan: Besides employing a trained investigator, they formed a committee on admission, made up of the chairman and one other member of their board, their matron, a member of the executive staff of the Associated Charities, and one from the Children's Aid Society. Here you have a distinct and very suggestive effort to meet this responsibility on which I have laid such stress. A still further development along this line is the experiment now being made, a joint case committee, representing in similar fashion several nurseries instead of one, and including in its membership representatives of the paid staffs of the Children's Mission, Children's Friend Society, and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

Again, a children's home in Cambridge has adopted the plan of seeking the advice of the Associated Charities on questions of admission. This is very suggestive of possibilities in other communities.

Other interesting developments may be seen in the reorganization of the Boston Children's Friend Society in 1900, and the Worcester Children's Friend Society in 1903, where, besides changing from the institution to the placing-out method, consultation bureaus were established by means of which questions of admission should be decided and other valuable assistance given when needed; and a similar instance is that of the Children's Mission, where a trained agent has been for several years employed for this work of admission and advice. In all of these instances the agents had worked with the Boston Children's Aid Society.

We add, in closing, a few cautions:

(1) Do not have rules that will set limits to your work. Even general principles you must always hold subject to exception.

(2) No application should be considered without inquiry to secure all the information about the case which the co-operative schemes of your community afford.

(3) An application to take a child may call for action as far removed as possible from that asked for.

(4) It rarely happens that the simple act of taking and caring for a child, even when such action is desirable, is alone adequate to the need.

(5) If you take children in an emergency, it is your duty to see them through that emergency. Have no rules that will make your methods so inelastic as to prevent this.

(6) When children are taken, relatives should be required to contribute towards their support as far as possible.

We have been taught to believe that two things were necessary in social work; namely, warm sympathy and sound judgment in happy combination. A third essential is this professional sense already mentioned; the sense of responsibility, which will give our work wise direction, definite standards and general effectiveness.

This will require of us all, if we wish to be tolerated, progressive, constructive work; the constant measuring up to the highest standards. The quack, the unprofessional doctor, is no greater menace to the community than the unprofessional, paid charity worker, and the sooner we cease to tolerate the latter, the better it will be for the community. Now the pity of it is that the community does not yet require of us certain standards of excellence, as it does of the lawyer and physician; but will anyone say that there is less need of it; that the work which Dr. Cabot dignifies by the name of Social Psychology, is of less vital import than that of the lawyer or doctor? We tinker with the affairs, the very lives of people; take a child out of its home, perhaps change the whole plan of life of an entire family; and what about the wisdom of it all? One of our great teachers of the present day has recently said that the beginning of wisdom is the desire for discipline. Now neither sympathy with our client, nor the soundest judgment of the need that we have at the time, will bring us this discipline. What we must have is the willingness of the man of science to subject his methods and his thoughts to the test of comparison with the largest discoveries of the laboratory; the feeling of responsibility which will cause us to pursue our daily work with vigor and courage, but yet with serious concern and humility, keeping our minds receptive to the newest truth and being ever ready for the next forward step.

CHAPTER X

CHILD-HELPING SOCIETIES

CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETIES AND CHILDREN'S HOME SOCIETIES

THE child-helping societies of the United States have become an important agency in most of the states of the Union. They are organized, for the most part, as "children's aid societies" or "children's home societies." They had their beginning in the New York Children's Aid Society in 1853. We here enumerate one hundred and seven societies of this class in the United States. The children's aid societies and the children's home societies are not sharply differentiated.

The children's aid societies do a general child-helping work. Most of them stand ready to take up the case of any child that is in trouble and seek to solve that trouble. Many of the children's aid societies, as in Boston and Philadelphia, use the boarding-out system for the care of a portion of their children. All, or nearly all of them, place orphans and abandoned children in family homes.

The National Children's Home Society

The National Children's Home Society sprang from the American Educational Aid Association, organized to assist deserving young people in obtaining an education, but it soon undertook the work of placing homeless children in family homes, and the name was changed to the Children's Home Society.

The Children's Home Society was organized on a very simple but practical plan, as follows:

(1) A state superintendent, with a central office, and the necessary clerical force.

(2) District superintendents covering assigned districts, with headquarters in different parts of the state.

(3) A central receiving home, for the temporary care of children awaiting placement in family homes.

(4) Local advisory boards composed of representative men and women in every important city and village in the state.

The district superintendent performed a three-fold duty of finding homes for children, supervising children placed in homes, and raising money to carry on the work.

This simple plan of organization proved very adaptable. Children's home societies gradually spread from state to state, until there are now thirty, in California, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

Of these societies, two, the New York Children's Aid Society and the Oregon Boys' and Girls' Aid Society, did not grow out of the Children's Home Society movement, but affiliated themselves with it later on.

In a number of states, the children's home society is becoming the leading child-helping agency. For example: In South Dakota, the children's home society has shared in every line of activity in behalf of every class of neglected children. In Kentucky the society has become a state agency, receiving an annual appropriation of $30,000 per year from the state treasury, and it covers the child-helping work of the entire state. In Iowa and Illinois it is the leading agency for the care of neglected children. Even in states where efficient state institutions for children exist, as in Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, the children's home society has found a field of activity.

Originally, the children's home society devoted itself almost exclusively to the work of placing children in family homes, but in many states, as in Illinois, Kentucky and Wisconsin, "aid departments" have been developed, for the purpose of doing a general work in behalf of neglected children, and the indications are that the work of these societies will eventually become as comprehensive as that of the children's aid societies in the eastern states.

In the early years of the children's home society, its work was crude and its watch-care of children was very imperfect, both from lack of experience and lack of means to employ efficient agents. Of late years there is a steady improvement, both in the quality of work and in the quality of workers. The children's home societies are studying diligently the work of other organizations. They are increasing their income and are steadily improving in efficiency.

The southern states have been slow to develop child-helping

societies. For the most part, they have been disposed to adhere to the orphan asylum plan, even for children who might be successfully placed in homes, notwithstanding the greater expense of that method. Child-helping societies are now gradually extending into the south. Children's home societies have been organized in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Texas, and organizations are now pending in Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama. The generous and hospitable spirit of the southern people is well adapted to the placing-out method, though the poverty which prevails in many sections of the south limits the number of available homes.

The thirty children's home societies now in existence are federated in the National Children's Home Society. The original idea was that the national society should exercise control over the several state societies, dictating their policy and controlling the appointment of their superintendents. This plan was abandoned after a few years. The several state societies took out state charters and became independent. The national society became a voluntary federation. It promotes the organization of new state societies and stands in an advisory relation to the state societies, but exercises no control over them and possesses no power over the state societies except the right to determine their membership in the federation.

The table on page 148 exhibits the work of the children's home societies for one year.

The Lutheran Kinderfreund Society

The Lutheran Church has established many orphanages and has held with tenacity to the plan of bringing up dependent children in orphan asylums. But the attention of some of the leading Lutheran pastors of Wisconsin was drawn to the work of the Wisconsin Children's Home Society, and after watching that work for several years they organized the Evangelical Lutheran Kinderfreund Society of Wisconsin. The new society developed rapidly and was followed by the organization of similar societies in other states, until there now are fifteen Kinderfreund societies, all of them connected with the German Lutheran church, except one in Illinois, which is connected with the Norwegian Lutheran Church. (See page 149.)

The original Kinderfreund Society in Wisconsin has already received 857 children and expended last year $6,500. As a result of its operations, a Lutheran orphanage in Wisconsin has been transformed into a school.

THE NATIONAL CHILDREN'S HOME SOCIETY—STATISTICS FOR ONE YEAR

State	*When organized*	*Total children received*	*New children received last year*	*Children placed first time*	*Replacements*	*Total placements*	*Children under supervision*	*Current expenses last year*	*Value of property*
Illinois	1883	6632	189	177	170	347	1740	$54,400	$74,000
Iowa	1888	4337	261	234	237	471	2300	24,800	69,000
Minnesota	1889	3033	108	99	48	147	300	15,800	80,500
California	1890	1344	209	197	100	297	403	22,600	36,500
Missouri	1891	2878	119	97	81	178	792	20,500	55,000
Wisconsin	1892	2300†	139	118	25	143	1200	18,500	2,500
Colorado	1892	800	26	26	3	29	200†	3,600	3,800
Indiana	1892	1335	140	138	73	211	556	16,400	37,400
Kansas	1893	1193	70	73	62	135	640	12,600	0
Michigan	1893	1017	86	70	9	79	506	18,100	30,000
Nebraska	1893	1043	47	53	35	88	25	11,200	1,500
Ohio	1893	637	30	30	52	82	176	7,600	0
South Dakota	1893	1548	104	102	40	142	500	12,600	54,600
Pennsylvania	1894	1200†	32	26	28	54	675	8,600	0
New Jersey	1894	1582	92	86	117	203	736	19,400	22,600
Kentucky	1895	1405	135	114	141	255	1145	43,000	34,500
Washington	1896	1200†	215	184	78	262	736	22,800	39,000
West Virginia	1896	800†	60	46	57	103	385	8,800	30,000
Montana	1896	460	46	46	8	54	54	5,900	16,500
North Dakota	1897	800	48	44	8	52	330	13,100	40,000
Texas	1897	700	100	100	13	113	600	3,200	0
Virginia	1900	800	103	107	74	181	475	8,800	15,000
Oklahoma	1900	395	41	8	6	14	100	7,200	10,000
Florida	1902	184	14	13	18	31	76	3,400	1,200
North Carolina	1903	377	35	38	25	63	241	8,300	2,000
Idaho	1906	77	77	44	10	54	65	5,200	50,000
New Mexico	1908	100	25	25	0	25	100	5,000	5,000
South Carolina	1909	71	19	20	5	25	40	5,000	0
Total, 28 societies		38,248	2,570	2,315	1,523	3,838	15,096	$406,400	$710,600
Oregon	1885		168	202	292	494	520	13,400	132,000
New York	1853		948	698	300	998	2,073	68,200*	*154,000
Grand Total			3,686	3,215	2,115	5,330	17,489	$488,000	$996,600

* This statement includes only the placing-out work of the New York Children's Aid Society; not the general work.

†Estimated.

	Society	Organized	Total children received to date	Children placed last year	Children replaced	Total placements last year	Current expenses last year	Value of receiving home	Total value of property
ILLINOIS	Evangelical Lutheran Home-Finding Society of Illinois, 347 Faraday St., Peoria, Ill., branch office, 3422 Hirsch St., Chicago. . .	1906	55	11	0	11	$1,820	$4,050	$5,350
	Norwegian Lutheran Children's Home Society, 58th Ave. and Irving Boulevard, Chicago.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
INDIANA	Evangelical Lutheran Kinderfreund Society of Indiana and Ohio, Ft. Wayne	1902	198	23	0	23	640	0	0
IOWA	Lutheran Kinderfreund Society of Iowa, Ft. Dodge	1901	210	17	0	17	2,955	11,000	11,800
KANSAS	Evangelical Lutheran Children's Society of Kansas, Winfield . .	1902	144	26	10	36	2,614	7,000	7,000
MICHIGAN	Evangelical Lutheran Children's Friend Society of Michigan, Bay City	1899	276	29	3	32	2,357	2,500	2,500
	Evangelical Lutheran Kinderfreund Society of Upper Peninsula of Michigan, Hancock.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
MINNESOTA	Evangelical Lutheran Kinderfreund Society of Minnesota and Dakota, 2022 Marshall Ave., St. Paul	1901	368	39	6	45	4,200	8,000	8,400
MISSOURI	Evangelical Lutheran Society of Missouri for Homeless Children, 1704 Market St., St. Louis . .	1903	185	16	2	18	555	0	0
NEBRASKA	German Evangelical Lutheran Orphans' Home Society, Fremont .	1892	136	46	3	49	3,280	15,000	23,000
NEW YORK	Evangelical Lutheran Children's Friend Society of New York, 480 Glenwood Ave., Buffalo . .	1905	32	8	0	8	202	0	0
OHIO	Lutheran Children's Aid Society of Cleveland, 2420 E. 79th St., Cleveland	1903	16	2	0	2	0	0	0
SOUTH DAKOTA	Evangelical Lutheran Kinderfreund Society of S. Dakota, Watertown	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
WISCONSIN	Evangelical Lutheran Kinderfreund Society of Wisconsin, Wauwatosa	1896	887	35	11	46	6,504	12,000	12,000

The table on page 149 exhibits the work of the Kinderfreund societies, as far as the facts could be obtained.

Detailed Account of Child-helping Societies

It has been thought best, at the risk of some tediousness, to give a brief account of each of the children's aid societies and children's home societies in the United States, as far as data are obtainable, though it is impossible, within the limits of this book, to treat any of them adequately. It is probable that some are omitted; if so, it is accidental.

Alabama: No society reported.

Arizona: Child-helping work is carried on by the California Children's Home Society, which assigns an agent to the territory. It is anticipated that an independent Arizona Children's Home Society will be established.

Arkansas: No society reported.

California: *California Children's Home Society.*—Organized in 1890 by Dr. and Mrs. Jesse R. Townsend, missionaries of the Society of Friends; headquarters, Los Angeles. The society had its essential beginning under a cocoanut tree in the island of Jamaica. Dr. and Mrs. Townsend, having lost their only son from fever in Jamaica, knelt at his grave and dedicated their lives to the cause of homeless and neglected children. They corresponded with the Rev. M. V. B. Van Arsdale, founder of the Children's Home Society, and received from him a commission and instructions for organizing the work in California. A beautiful property was purchased at Pasadena in 1891, for a receiving home, but was subsequently lost for lack of support. Prior to 1905 the records were imperfect, but since that time systematic and adequate records of children and finance have been maintained

The California Children's Home Society, unlike most of the child-helping organizations in California, receives no aid from the public treasury, but depends entirely upon private contributions. The society stands for the method of placing children in family homes, as distinct from the method of bringing up children in institutions, which prevails generally in California.

It offers its services to all the child-caring charities in the state, for the purpose of placing in approved homes whatever children they may have available. It has recently definitely made this offer of its services, free of charge, to a selected list of Protestant

institutions for children, in which there are about 300 full orphans and financially dependent children, for whom it is thought homes should be found. Courteous responses have been received, but there seems little to encourage the expectation that the institutions will now or for some years to come yield to the general public sentiment in favor of the family home as the best place for the dependent child.

The California Children's Home Society covers the territory of Arizona, but it is anticipated that the Arizona work will eventually be organized as an independent state organization. The society has received from the beginning 1344 children. During the year 1909–1910 it received 209 new children; placed for the first time, 197; replaced, 100; total placements and replacements, 297; children under supervision, not including children legally adopted, 403. The property of the society is as follows: Receiving home, $9,000; real estate held as investment, $20,200; bonds and cash, $8,600; total property, $37,800.

The Children's Agency was established in 1903 by the Associated Charities and the Boys' and Girls' Aid Society of San Francisco "for the benefit of the children's institutions about the Bay. The agent was to visit the children placed in family homes by any of these institutions and to find new homes for such other children as might be eligible for placement." The agency also boards young children out in selected family homes.

The agency soon became the official representative of twelve institutions. It aims at the following improvements in the California child-helping system: "The acceptance of the agency by the other children's institutions of the state; the enforcement of a rigid system of investigation before children are admitted into the children's homes; the radical change of our guardianship and adoption laws in the interest of foster parents, are the steps for the immediate future."

COLORADO: *Colorado Children's Home Society.*—Organized in 1892; headquarters at Denver.

The society places children in family homes; it maintains a small receiving home at Denver. It extends some aid to worthy mothers, to keep and bring up their own children. It places children for three children's institutions. Its work has been partly overshadowed by the work of the State Home for dependent children.

Number of children received for placement from the beginning, about 800; new children received for placement last year, 26; children placed first time, 26; replacements, 3; total placements, 29. The current expenses last year were $3,600; value of real estate, etc.,

$3,800. The society has the endorsement of the Denver Charity Endorsement Committee.

CONNECTICUT: *Connecticut Children's Aid Society.*—Organized in 1892, "to assist and care for dependent and homeless children, and to place such children in family homes; to search out and care for crippled and incurable children and suitably provide for them; and to aid every child needing care of any kind."

The society maintains a home for crippled children at Newington, Connecticut. "Children may attend school and receive the advantages of music, vocal and instrumental, and manual training of various kinds." The society maintains Prosser Cottage at Bloomfield, where from 20 to 25 children can be boarded, and it is used as a fresh air and boarding home all the year round.

The society furnishes hospital care, operations and treatment for those with defects, but it "cares for normal children in private families and has no home for such children."

As to the matter of supervision, the society reports: "In our method of using blanks we have followed largely the Philadelphia Children's Aid Society. We require an application blank to be filled out, also a reference blank, then we must visit the family and find out for ourselves just how things are. . . . Our society has visitors in nearly every town where children are placed. . . . Our experience is that every child placed out should be under the care of some responsible person in the town, who will visit the child and report its care and condition."

The society reports 880 children placed at board during the past eighteen years. It reports also 775 children placed in family homes. It does not bind out any child, but makes individual agreements with foster parents safeguarding the child.

The last report available is the report for the year ending October 1, 1907, which shows 68 children placed in boarding homes; 31 children placed in family homes; 17 children relocated; the current expense for the year, $8,420.

DELAWARE: No society reported. Placing-out work is carried on in Delaware by the New Jersey Children's Home Society.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: *Christ Child Society.*—Works in cooperation with the juvenile court, the Board of Children's Guardians and other philanthropic agencies in the interests of neglected children.

FLORIDA: *Florida Children's Home Society.*—Organized in 1902. The society maintains a receiving home with a capacity of about 20

children. The society is taking steps to build a new receiving home and to extend its work so as to meet the rapid expansion which is now taking place in the population and resources of the state.

Number of children received first time in 1908–9, 35; number placed first time, 31; replacements, 5; total placements, 36; current expenses, $3,635.

GEORGIA: No society reported. A movement is in progress for the organization of a children's home society, but it has not yet taken definite form.

IDAHO: *Idaho Children's Home Finding and Aid Society.*—Organized in 1908; headquarters, Boise. The society places children in family homes; it maintains a small receiving home with about 20 children. Foundations have been laid for a larger receiving home to accommodate about 40 children and to cost about $30,000. The state legislature has appropriated $20,000 toward the cost of this new building.

The society received during its first year 77 new children; placed in homes first time, 44; replacements, 10; total placements, 54; children under guardianship and supervision, 65. The society already has in real estate and cash about $50,000; its president is the governor of the state; it is making rapid progress in the confidence and good will of the community.

ILLINOIS: *Evangelical Lutheran Kinderfreund Society of Illinois.*—Headquarters, 347 Farraday St., Peoria, Illinois. Branch office at 3422 Hirsch St., Chicago. The society maintains a receiving home at 4840 West Byron St., Chicago. Total number of children received for placement at Peoria to date, 421; children placed first time last year, 39; replacements, 15; total placements 54. Current expenses last year, $4500; value of receiving home, $9000; other property, $5000; total property, $14,000.

The Chicago Branch of the Evangelical Lutheran Kinderfreund Society of Illinois reports the following work: for the year 1909: total number of children received for placement to date, 111; children placed first time last year, 20; replacements none. Current expenses last year, $2,740; value of receiving home, $17,000; other property none; total property, $17,000.

The combined report of the State Society and the Chicago branch is as follows: Total number of children received for placement to date, 532. Children placed first time last year, 59; replacements, 15; total placements, 74. Current expenses last year, $7,240; value of two receiving rooms, $26,000; other property, $5000; total property, $31,000.

Norwegian Lutheran Children's Home Society.—Office, 58th Avenue and Irving Boulevard, Chicago. No report.

Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society.—Organized in 1883, by Rev. M. V. B. Van Arsdale; headquarters, Chicago. It was first known as the American Educational Aid Association, and one of its objects was to assist worthy young women in obtaining an education. The plan was soon changed, however, and the name was changed to the Children's Home Society. This is the parent society from which have sprung all of the twenty-eight children's home societies which are federated in the society which is known as the National Children's Home Society.

The Illinois society operated under the original charter until 1897, when it took out a separate state charter.

In 1898 the Illinois Children's Home Society was consolidated with the Chicago Children's Aid Society under the name of the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society. The society continued to carry on the placing-out of children as its principal work, but established an aid department to assist neglected children in other ways.

The society maintains a receiving home at Evanston, in the suburbs of Chicago, with a capacity of 54 children, and a second receiving home at Duquoin, in the southern part of Illinois, with a capacity of 28 children. It maintained receiving homes for several years at Shelbyville and Rantoul, Illinois, but has closed both of these homes. It is now building an industrial school for girls at Potomac, Illinois, with a capacity of about 35 beds, for the temporary care of dependent girls from 14 to 16 years old, who are not vicious but who are restless, headstrong, and imperiled in family homes.

The number of children received in the placing-out department from the beginning in 1883 to the end of 1909 was 6,632. During the year 1909, 189 new children were received. Children placed for the first time, 177; replaced, 170; total placements, 347; total number of children under care and supervision, 1740.

In the aid department, board was found for 271 children (not counted as placed out); situations were found for 141 mothers where children could be with them; investigation, advice or information was given for 344 children; aid was given in over thirty different ways to 254 children. More than 1000 children came under the care of the aid department.

Current expenses for 1909, $54,400. Value of real estate, etc., owned by the society, $74,100. In addition to this real estate the society has received a gift of property worth $60,000, the income of

which will be available for the support of the new Industrial School for Girls. The Children's Home and Aid Society co-operates closely with the other children's agencies of Chicago and Illinois.

The society has undertaken a plan whereby handicapped mothers can receive a three months' training in simple housekeeping, plain sewing and domestic service. This is intended to fit mothers for domestic service, where they can have their children with them. It is arranging for a "Big Brother" and a "Big Sister" to be present in the juvenile court of Cook County and to care for all homeless and friendless boys and girls for whose help there exists no other effective agency.

Jewish Home-Finding Society of Chicago.—"The Jewish Home-Finding Society stands for the principle of placing the orphan or abandoned child in a private home where he will have all the advantages of home life and home training . . . co-operating closely and acting together with all the Jewish institutions which give temporary shelter to our orphaned or abandoned children."

The society during the year ending May 1, 1909, cared for 56 children in boarding homes and placed 11 children in permanent homes for adoption. The society made 325 visits to children placed in homes. It expended $2,682, of which $1,350 were paid for board of children.

Whitehall Orphans' Home Society.—Organized in the year 1905. It receives and places dependent children in family homes. It maintains a small receiving home, with a capacity of about 20 children.

The last available report was for the year 1905, and showed new children received, 33; placed, 24. Current expenses, $3,100.

INDIANA: *Evangelical Lutheran Kinderfreund Society of Indiana and Ohio.*—Organized 1902; headquarters, 2322 Broadway, Fort Wayne, Indiana. Total number of children received for placement to date, 198; children placed first time last year, 23; replacements, none. Current expenses last year, $640. Property, none.

Indiana Children's Home Society.—Organized in 1893; headquarters, Indianapolis. It finds homes for homeless children, and cares for them while waiting to place them in such homes. It maintains a receiving home about 24 miles from the city, with a capacity of about 75 children. The superintendent and directors are working steadily for the improvement of standards and methods, and are stimulated by the Indiana state board of charities, which maintains an active supervision of the placing-out work of private agencies throughout the state. The society does not maintain an aid

department, but co-operates with the Indianapolis Children's Aid Society.

Children received for placement from the beginning, 1335. New children received last year, 140; placed in homes first time during the year 1909–10, 138; replacements, 73; total placements, 211. Now under care and supervision (not legally adopted), 556. The current expenses of last year were $16,400; real estate, furniture, etc., $21,000; total property, $37,400.

Children's Aid Association of Indianapolis.—Organized in 1905; does a general aid work for neglected children. It co-operates with the juvenile court and with the Indiana Children's Home Society. Its fundamental purpose is "to preserve where possible the family group by helping to eliminate the forces that threaten to destroy it and by strengthening those influences that tend to upbuild it." The current expenses of the society for the last year of which a report is at hand were $4,600, including $1,078 expended for playgrounds.

IOWA: *American Home-finding Association.*—Organized in 1899; headquarters, Ottumwa, Iowa. The society finds homes "for widows and girl mothers where, for themselves and one child, they earn wages and support both. It also provides family homes for children.

"We have received for the first time 1050 children and for the last five years have had an average placement in family homes of 207 annually, many of the children requiring replacement.

"Our care of widows and unmarried mothers with their children has proven to be very satisfactory. We find employment for the widows as housekeepers and for the unmarried mothers as domestics."

Value of receiving home, $17,000; additional land, $15,000; total property, $34,000.

For the year 1907, the number of new children received was 116; placed first time, 116; replacements, 43; total placements, 159.

Current expenses, $14,300; real estate and other property (net), $5,000.

Evangelical Kinderfreund Society of Iowa.—Organized 1901; headquarters, Fort Dodge, Iowa. Total number of children received for placement to date, 210; children placed first time last year, 17; replacements, none. Current expenses last year, $2,955; value of receiving home, $11,000; other property, $800; total property, $11,800.

Iowa Children's Home Society.—Headquarters, Des Moines. This society was organized under the name of the Iowa Educational

Aid Association in 1888. The Iowa society is second in age and in extent of work only to the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, which is the parent society. The Iowa society was originally auxiliary to the parent society, but subsequently declared its independence, and took out a state charter. It rescues needy, homeless, and dependent children, finding homes in approved families. The children are taken into legal guardianship, temporarily cared for at the receiving home, then placed in carefully selected families. After three months' trial they are settled by indenture or legal adoption, or returned to the society for replacement.

The society maintains a receiving home with a capacity of about 75 children, for the temporary care of the children. The total number of children received as wards since organization has been 4337. For the year ending April 30, 1910, 261 new children were received; placed first time, 234; replaced, 237; total placements, 471. Total now under supervision in family homes, 2300. The current expenses for the past year were $24,800; value of receiving home and equipment, $33,000; endowment fund, $36,000; total property, $69,000.

KANSAS: *Child Rescue and Orphan Society of the Church of the Brethren of Kansas and Colorado.*—Organized in 1908; headquarters, McPherson, Kansas. The society receives children who for any cause are homeless or need help, except crippled or diseased children. The society receives children with living parents if the parents are not able to support them, but "We do not encourage parents to shirk duty or the responsibilities of parenthood."

The society indentures a limited number of children.

Christian Service League of America.—Organized in 1908; headquarters, Wichita; "to supply the need of a more thoroughly organized and more carefully supervised movement in private charities . . . and to bring all such works of service and charity together into a federation under one government."

The society states: "We do not intend to duplicate the work of other successful institutions, wherever they are established. . . . It is true that we cannot avoid duplicating the work of home-finding societies for children.

"In the near future the Christian Service League will be conducting ten or twelve departments of work with less expense than it will take to maintain three separate organizations to do the work of any three departments."

The world will watch with interest the development of this ambitious society of Wichita, which proposes to bring all the private

charities together in one federation. We observe that five of the eight members of the board of trustees of the Christian Service League of America are residents either of Wichita, Kansas, or Pueblo, Colorado.

Evangelical Lutheran Children's Friend Society of Kansas.—Organized 1902; headquarters, 411 Park Ave., Winfield, Kansas. Total children received for placement to date, 144; children placed first time last year, 26; replacements, 10; total placements, 36. Current expenses, $2,614; value of receiving home, $7,000.

Kansas Children's Home Society.—Organized in 1893; headquarters, Topeka. It places children in family homes. It maintains no receiving home, but boards out wards in families while awaiting permanent placement in family homes. The society does not maintain an aid department, but a great deal of aid is extended to children and to courts, of which no record is made. It is working to improve the quality of its selection of homes and of its supervision of children. It is about to erect a memorial building, whose rentals will serve as endowment income.

The society formerly received an annual state appropriation of $2,000, but now receives no public funds, except a small amount from counties for the care of public wards, amounting in 1908–1909 to $975.

The number of children received for placement to date has been 1193; for the year ending April 30, 1910, the number of new children received was 70; placed first time, 70; replacements, 70; total placements, 140. Number of children under care and supervision (not including children legally adopted), 640. The current expenses for last year amounted to $12,600; the society owns no property, but has additional subscriptions for $30,000 with which to build its proposed memorial building.

Kansas Home-finding Society.—Headquarters, Lawrence, Kansas. No report received.

KENTUCKY: *Kentucky Children's Home Society.*—Organized in 1896; headquarters, Louisville. The society started under difficulties for lack of a supporting public sentiment. In 1899 the society took a new start and soon came to be the principal child-helping organization in Kentucky. Its work was strengthened by suitable legislation and the legislature appropriated, first $15,000, and for the past four years $30,000 per year toward the support of the society, so that it has become practically a state institution.

The society maintains a receiving home for the temporary

"No Longer Homeless." A Ward of the Ohio Children's Home Society

Wanted, a Home! Children Received by the Kentucky Children's Home Society

care of children awaiting placement in family homes. It maintains, also, an extensive aid department for the care of children needing other provision than placing out.

The report for the year ending May 31, 1910, is as follows: Number of new children received, 135; number placed first time, 114; number of replacements, 141; total number of placements, 255. Number of children now under supervision and care, 1145. The number of children received for placement from the beginning has been 1405.

The current expenses last year were about $43,000; value of property about $34,500.

LOUISIANA: No society reported.

MAINE: *Maine Children's Committee.*—Organized in 1909. It is a co-operative committee organized by the following named organizations: The Bangor Children's Home, the Bath Military and Naval Orphan Asylum, the Female Orphan Asylum of Portland, the Maine Children's Aid Society of Belfast, the Children's Home Society of Augusta the York County Children's Aid Society, the Children's Protective Society of Portland, the Good Will Home Association, the Maine Home for Friendless Boys, the Lewiston Home, the Temporary Home for Women and Children of Portland, the House of the Good Shepherd, Gardiner, and the Associated Charities of Portland. The committee consists of one representative from each of these organizations.

The purposes of the Maine Children's Committee are: (1) to visit children placed in homes by the constituent organizations upon their request; (2) to remove children from almshouses to family homes; (3) to co-operate with the constituent organizations in securing adequate care for such children as they may be unable to provide for; (4) upon request of any of the constituent organizations to seek for suitable family homes for children who may be under their care.

The secretary of the committee responds to calls from the constituent organizations for the visitation of children or the visitation of homes of applicants.

In Augusta there is an institution known as the Children's Home Society, and in Belfast is the Children's Aid Society of Maine; but these organizations do the work chiefly of institutions and are not therefore classed as child-helping societies.

During the five months ending May 31, 1910, the Maine Children's Committee investigated 73 homes, visited 24 children, and placed 15 in permanent homes.

MARYLAND: *Baltimore Children's Aid Society.*—The Henry Watson Children's Aid Society of Baltimore was organized in 1860. It does a general work for neglected children, with special emphasis upon placing-out work. Its work is similar in spirit and methods to that of the Boston Children's Aid Society. Formerly its income was small and its field was limited; its scope has been enlarged to cover work for neglected children in the entire state of Maryland, and its directors have taken steps to provide a sufficient income to enable the society to cover the ground effectively. There appears to be no good reason why the Baltimore society should not take its place as a peer of the societies of Boston and Philadelphia.

There is a fine social sense manifest in the society. The board of directors is composed of active young business men and professional men who are applying to the problems of the society the same qualities which they are employing in their business.

The society makes earnest efforts to keep families together by developing every possible resource in the child and in the family. "Only for causes of immorality and hopeless inefficiency does the society lend itself to the severing of family ties." It makes a specialty of putting on probation "children who have suffered as a result of exposure, neglect and cruelty, and who show consequent signs of physical and moral weakness, under a trained worker who can prescribe and administer the needed treatment." It has strengthened and developed its methods of placing and supervising children in family homes.

Linden House, the receiving home of the society, was sold in 1909, and the plan of making temporary provision for children in family homes was substituted. During the year ending October 31, 1909, 805 children were studied and their families were investigated, and 230 children were taken under oversight for longer or shorter periods in their own homes. The society placed 28 children who showed signs of physical or moral weakness in specially selected families. Of these children it reports that " 19 cannot now be distinguished from normal children."

During the year ending October 31, 1908, the society placed in families without payment of board, 157; with payment of board, 63; placed with relatives or self-supporting under partial supervision, 124; placed at wages, 12; total, 356. The total number of children under the oversight of the placing-out department October 31, 1909, was 633.

The current expenses of the society for the year ending October

31, 1908, were $7,950, and for the year ending October 31, 1909, $11,315.

MASSACHUSETTS: *Boston Children's Aid Society.*—Organized in 1864. In 1884 it secured as secretary Mr. Charles W. Birtwell. Under his leadership the society has become one of the leading preventive institutions of the United States.

The Boston Children's Aid Society has worked steadily and consistently along three lines:

First, for the elevation of the standards of child-helping work. They have maintained that the society should first ascertain what ought to be done in behalf of the needy child, and then proceed either to do that thing or to get it done by some efficient agency. While they have advocated economy, they have held strongly for doing the right thing and the best thing at whatever cost may be necessary.

The society has worked, second, for the use of the family home for the care of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children. The society had at one time two temporary homes for children, both of which have been abandoned and closed. It is largely due to the influence of this society that no less than thirteen orphan asylums and children's homes have been closed in Massachusetts within the past fifteen years and very few new orphan asylums have been built. The records of the United States census show only two children's homes established in the state of Massachusetts since 1900. One of these is an orphanage containing 21 children and the other a children's home containing 38 children.

The plan of boarding children in family homes is employed even for temporary care lasting for a day or two or three. Boarding homes are used also for the care of many children whose parents are in temporary distress. Board is paid at the rate of $1.50 to $3.00 per week, the money being contributed usually partly by the parents or friends of the child, and partly from the treasury of the society. In such cases, unless the parents are entirely unfit to associate with their children, they are allowed to visit the children from time to time and thus to keep in touch with them.

Children are placed in family homes without payment of board in case they are entirely homeless and orphan, or in case the child is old enough and strong enough to pay for his board by his services. All the children placed either in boarding homes or free homes are kept under a close friendly oversight by the agents of the society.

The Boston Children's Aid Society has worked, in the third

place, for the close and friendly co-operation of all of the child-helping agencies. There are three child-helping societies in Boston: The Boston Children's Aid Society, the Boston Children's Friend Society, and the Boston Children's Mission. These three societies have independent corporations and financial support, but they work in the closest affiliation. The secretaries of the Children's Friend Society and the Children's Mission, with several of their employes, had their training under the Boston Children's Aid Society. No child is cared for by either of these societies without first consulting the records of a joint registration bureau, in order to ascertain whether the child has previously been in the care of one of the other organizations, in which case nothing is done without full consultation and understanding. There is also close co-operation between these societies and many of the other child-helping agencies of Boston and vicinity, especially with the children's departments of the state board of charity and the city of Boston.

Identical record cards are used by several of the Massachusetts agencies in recording children's cases. This plan greatly facilitates mutual understanding and co-operation.

Boston Children's Friend Society.—This society expends about $18,000 per year. It formerly maintained a home for children at 48 Rutland Street, Boston, but this home has now been closed for several years.

The Children's Friend Society maintains high standards of children's work. Its field work is done conscientiously and the superintendent keeps his hand closely upon the details. The work does not differ essentially in its methods or its spirit from that of the Boston Children's Aid Society.

Boston Children's Mission.—This society was founded in 1849 by a little girl, who, passing through the streets with her father and seeing the neglected and miserable little children, said, "Father, I wonder whether we children could not do something for these poor little children?" Out of this suggestion grew The Mission of the Children to the Children of the Destitute. The Children's Mission established a home for destitute children at 277 Tremont Street, not far from the Boston Common. The Mission has been supported partly by endowments and partly by the contributions of Sunday School children throughout the state of Massachusetts. About two years ago the home was closed and the society adopted the plan of using family homes entirely for the care of its children.

Boston Society for the Care of Girls.—Organized in 1800, under

the name of the Boston Female Asylum. This name was changed by the legislature in February, 1910, to the Boston Society for the Care of Girls.

For more than 100 years, the Boston Female Asylum carried on its work as an institution. In recent years, beginning in 1902, the managers of the asylum came to feel strongly the force of the modern movement in favor of the use of the family home for the care of children, in preference to the institution. Gradually their work took on new form, until, in 1907, the asylum was finally closed, and family home care was entirely substituted. The change of name to the Boston Society for the Care of Girls, was the logical outcome. The following statement published by the society indicates its present scope: "This society is interested in all needy girls of any race or creed. A thorough investigation is made of each case brought to our attention, and even though the child is not accepted, we are glad to give advice. If a girl is admitted, she is placed in a carefully selected family under the supervision of one of our visitors. An effort is made to reunite the family as soon as practicable. As a rule two dollars and fifty cents ($2.50) per week board is paid until the child is capable of being placed in a free home. Whenever able, parents or relatives contribute towards the support of the girls."

During the year ending October, 1909, the society received and placed in families 48 new girls; the total number under the care of the society in family homes in October, 1909, was 146. The expenses of the society last year were $24,300, of which $14,100 was paid for board in family homes. The society has invested funds amounting to $512,000.

Catholic Charitable Bureau.—This society finds family homes for Catholic children.

Hampden County Children's Aid Society.—Organized in 1880; headquarters, Springfield. Does a general work in behalf of all classes of children that have become abused or neglected. In case of necessity it takes steps to compel negligent parents to provide for their children. During the three years ending 1908, the society received into its custody 133 children, of whom 129 were placed in selected family homes. Of these, 119 were placed in homes where there were no other children, as it is the policy of the society to place children in such homes when practicable.

The society insists that the mothers of illegitimate children shall care for their children, if they are fit to have custody. The society boards out some children in family homes at $2.00 per week.

Worcester Children's Friend Society.—Incorporated in 1849. Outgrowing the first orphans' home they moved to a larger one in 1865. In 1902 the children were placed out in family homes, under supervision. The society now has nearly 100 children so placed, and deals with about 15 new applications every month, the effort being to keep the family intact or to re-establish it as soon as possible. Needed medical and dental work is given careful attention. An effort is made to keep in touch with the children after they are returned to their own people or become self-supporting.

Received for placement last year, 54 children; placed, 54; under care and supervision at close of year, 86. Children aided in other ways, 204. Current expenses, 1909, $12,480, of which $7,505 was paid for board of children in family homes.

MICHIGAN: *Evangelical Lutheran Children's Friend Society of Michigan.*—Organized, 1899; headquarters, Bay City, Michigan. Number of children received for replacement to date, 276; placed first time last year, 29; replacements, 3; total placements, 32. Current expenses, $2,357; value of receiving home, $2,500.

Evangelical Lutheran Kinderfreund Society of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan.—Headquarters, Hancock, Michigan.

Good Will Farm and Home-Finding Association of Upper Michigan.—Organized in 1901. The society maintains a receiving home, the Good Will Farm, at Houghton, Mich., where children are kept awaiting placement in family homes and where a limited number of children are kept on board for parents who are in temporary distress. The society boards out some children in family homes, paying $3.00 per week for infants and $2.00 to $2.50 per week for older children. The society places children in family homes and does a limited amount of general aid work for neglected children.

Michigan Children's Home Society.—Organized in 1893; headquarters, St. Joseph. It maintains a temporary receiving home at St. Joseph with 25 beds; also a children's hospital with 20 beds. It places children in family homes. Children are placed for adoption when there is no hope of re-establishing the family. Children admitted temporarily are cared for in private selected homes for board under supervision of paid agents; relatives being required to pay expenses of boarding the child if possible. Brothers and sisters are kept together, and effort is made to reunite the family in case of improved home conditions.

The society maintains an office in Detroit, and is one of the co-ordinated societies which form the Children's Bureau of Detroit,

designed to bring into complete co-operation all of the child-helping agencies of that city.

An aid department is being developed to care for children who are not proper subjects for placing out in family homes. About 100 children were cared for in the aid department last year.

The number of children received for placement in family homes from the beginning has been 1017. New children received for placement during the last fiscal year, 86; children placed for the first time last year, 70; replacements last year, 9; total placements, 79. The number of children under the care and supervision of the society, not including children legally adopted, is 506. The current expenses for 1908–1909 were $18,100. The property of the society is valued at about $30,000. The society receives no funds from public sources.

MINNESOTA: *Evangelical Lutheran Kinderfreund Society of Minnesota and Dakota.*—Headquarters, 2022 Marshall Ave., St. Paul, Minnesota.

Minnesota Children's Home Society.—Organized in 1889; headquarters, St. Paul. It maintains a temporary receiving home at St. Paul, with a capacity of 60 children. It places children in family homes. The society has four district superintendents, and has over 400 local advisory boards in the state. It is subject to the supervision of the state board of control.

Total number of children cared for from the beginning, 3033; new children received in the year 1908–1909, 108; children placed in family homes first time, 99; replacements, 48; total placements, 147. The number of children under care in family homes, not including children legally adopted, is about 300. The current expenses of the society last year were $15,800; value of plant, $48,000; invested securities, $32,500; total property, $80,500. The society receives no public funds.

MISSOURI: *Evangelical Lutheran Society of Missouri for Homeless Children.*—Organized in 1903; headquarters, 1704 Market St., St. Louis, Missouri. Total number of children received for placement to date, 185; placed first time last year, 16; replacements, 2; total placements, 18. Current expenses last year, $555. The society maintains no receiving home.

Missouri Children's Home Society.—Organized in 1891; headquarters, St. Louis. It receives and places children in family homes. The state is divided into five districts, each district under the care of a district superintendent. The general work is directed

by a state superintendent. There are 500 local advisory boards throughout the state, made up of the best citizens of each community, who aid in finding destitute children, in passing upon the fitness of applicants for children, and in supervising placed-out children. It maintains a receiving home for the temporary care of children, with a capacity of about 75 children. The society does a small amount of aid work, but has never made a specialty of such work.

Number of children received for placement from the beginning, 2878. During the year 1909–1910, 119 new children were received; placed for the first time, 97; replacements, 81; total placements, 178. The society has under its care and supervision 792 children. The current expenses for the fiscal year 1909–1910 were $20,500; value of receiving home and furnishings, $50,000; endowment fund, $5,000; total property, $55,000.

St. Louis Children's Aid Society.—A new organization doing a general work for neglected children.

MONTANA: *Montana Children's Home Society.*—Organized in 1896; headquarters, Helena. The society places children in family homes. It is now building a fire-proof receiving home for the temporary care of about 30 children. It plans the establishment of an aid department as soon as the new receiving home is finished.

Number of children received from the beginning, 460; children placed for the first time, in the year 1909–1910, 42; replacements, 8; total placements, 50. Number of children under the care and supervision of the society (not including children legally adopted), 54. Current expenses for the year 1909–1910, $5,500. Value of real estate, etc., $13,000; cash in hand, $3,500; total property, $16,500. The society has made steady progress during the past two years.

NEBRASKA: *Child Saving Institute.*—Headquarters, Omaha. Places children in family homes and does a general work for neglected children. The society maintains a nursery in the city of Omaha and is erecting a new building at a cost of about $75,000.

During the year ending October 31, 1909, the society placed in homes for adoption 67 children; placed with guardians and relatives, 128 children. The current expenses for the year were $13,560.

German Evangelical Lutheran Orphans' Home Society.—Organized, 1892; headquarters, 1544 East Military Ave., Fremont, Nebraska. Total children received for placement to date, 136; placed first time last year, 46; replacements, 3; total placements, 49.

Current expenses last year, $3,280; value of receiving home, $15,000; other property, $8000; total property, $23,000.

Nebraska Children's Home Society.—Organized in 1893; headquarters, Omaha. It maintains no receiving home, but uses private family homes, both for the permanent and temporary care of children. There are 800 local advisory boards organized in the principal towns of the state.

The society has received as legal wards, since its organization in 1893, 1043 homeless children. During the entire 17 years there have been only 18 deaths of children while in the hands of the society, though many children have been received in desperate condition. In addition to the 1043 children received for placing, the society has given temporary care and otherwise looked after 3578 additional children. It is believed that this exceptional record has been due to the plan of boarding children in private family homes until placed permanently.

"About 70 per cent of the children placed in homes by the society have been adopted, made heirs to the property of the foster parents, and in every way have become a part of the home, the same as a child born in the home. Twenty per cent have been placed on a special contract, the foster parents agreeing to give them a certain amount when they became of age, the amount ranging from $200 to $500."

It is the experience of the society that as the children placed approach their majority, many grow restless or anxious to "try their wings," and a great increase is necessary in the amount and extent of supervision, even in cases where children are well placed.

The society has received, since its organization, 1043 children; during the fiscal year ending April 30, 1910, 47 new children were received; placed for the first time, 53; replacements, 35; total placements, 88. The current expenses last year were $11,200. The society owns no property.

NEVADA: No society reported.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: No society reported.

NEW JERSEY: *Catholic Children's Aid Association of New Jersey.*—In 1903 the Catholic Children's Aid Association of New Jersey was established. The association was organized "to perform all the functions of a child-caring and placing-out society, and of a society for the prevention of cruelty to children." It acts as the agent of twelve Catholic institutions, and it also receives and cares

for children from miscellaneous sources. In the year 1909 the association received and placed out 349 children from the following sources:

St. Joseph's Home, Jersey City	99
St. Mary's Orphanage, Vailsburg	62
House of Good Shepherd, Newark	26
Catholic Protectory, Arlington	22
St. Michael's Orphanage, Jersey City	20
St. Vincent's Foundling, Montclair	10
Our Lady of Grace Orphanage, Hoboken	7
St. Francis Orphanage, W. Hoboken	7
St. Peter's Orphanage, Newark	2
St. Anthony's Orphanage, W. Arlington	4
Italian Protectory, Kearney	1
Miscellaneous	89
Total	349

The ages of these children were as follows:

Under 4 years	34
4 to 8 years	92
8 to 11 years	82
11 to 14 years	78
Over 14 years	63
Total	349

The association received in 1909, 149 Catholic children from non-sectarian and Protestant institutions. There appears to be a fine spirit of co-operation between the association and the other child-helping institutions of the state.

The Catholic Children's Aid Association makes use of the institutions for the permanent care of unplaceable children, for the temporary care of children whose parents are in temporary distress, and for the preparation of children to go into family homes. It marks a departure from the ancient policy of Roman Catholic institutions in the fact that it employs competent laymen at living salaries as being better adapted to the special nature of its work than the Sisters and Brothers. The association is able to avail itself of the co-operation of the Catholic clergy throughout the state, but it wisely depends upon paid agents for its detail work.

Children's Aid and Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children of Essex County, New Jersey.—Headquarters, Newark. The society was established in 1868. It was originally known as the Children's Aid Society of Newark, but its scope was enlarged in 1890. "The particular business and objects of the society are the mental, moral and physical improvement and care of abused and homeless children,

and the prevention of cruelty to children; to temporarily feed and clothe and provide suitable homes for them . . . to maintain a lodging house, reading room, etc."

The society maintains a receiving home with a capacity of 25 to 30 children. It places children in family homes. The expenses of the society for the year 1908–9 were $2,100.

New Jersey Children's Home Society.—Organized in 1894; headquarters, Trenton. It receives neglected children from every part of the state, and places them in Christian families, and provides a system of supervision. It maintains a receiving home at Trenton, capacity, 50. All nursing infants are placed in private families at board, pending permanent placement. The state is divided into districts, each in charge of a district superintendent.

While the society began its work specifically as a placing-out agency, it has recently developed an aid department the purpose of which is to make possible the care of children by their own parents, to re-establish homes, and to keep families from going to pieces. This department deals with delinquent parents, frequently acting as prosecuting agency when other methods have failed. It provides temporary care for certain children, either at board or in its receiving home. It seeks homes in families for mothers with children. It assists in securing special surgical or medical treatment in hospitals or institutions. In the aid department during the eleven months ending April 30, 1910, 295 cases were investigated, concerning 657 children, of whom 45 were cared for temporarily.

The total number of children received for placement from the beginning is 1582. New children received during the year 1909–1910, 89; children placed first time, 73; replacements, 106; total placements, 179. Children under care and supervision (not including children legally adopted), 736.

Current expenses for the year 1909–1910, $20,000; value of real estate, $16,700; endowment, $4,100; total property, $20,800.

Speedwell Society.—Headquarters, Morristown. Cares for delicate babies by boarding them out in carefully selected homes, with close supervision by doctors and nurses.

New Mexico: *New Mexico Children's Home Society.*—Headquarters, Albuquerque. Organized in 1906, but did not begin its active operations until the spring of 1907. The comparatively small American population and the tremendous distances which must be traversed to cover the territory, have greatly handicapped the work,

but during this time over 100 children have been provided with homes, and 50 more have been sent to relatives in other states at the expense of the society.

There is no territorial care of children.

The educational part of the work has been the most important phase of the society's efforts. Absolutely nothing was known by the people of the territory in regard to this or any organized work for the saving of homeless and dependent children.

During the past year 25 children have been received for the first time and placed in family homes, while more than that number have been relieved from immoral environment by sending them to institutions in other states or sending them to parents or relatives who received them after the society had paid their expenses to their homes. The amount raised to cover expenses the last current year was $5,000. The society has purchased a receiving home at an expense of $5,000, and has $5,000 pledged additional with which it will add to its equipment during the year 1910 and 1911.

NEW YORK: *Brooklyn Children's Aid Society.*—Organized in 1865. It does a general aid work for children. Its activities include a bureau of counsel, relief and investigation, a temporary shelter and working boys' home, a placing-out department, neighborhood work and some relief work, which includes the Seaside Home for Sick Children, the Harriman Home for Children, the distribution of pasteurized modified milk, country fortnight and day excursions. The following is a summary of the work reported last year:

The bureau of counsel, relief and investigation treated 1312 cases, involving 2672 children. The temporary shelter and working boys' home received 312 different girls and boys, to whom they gave 4421 lodgings and 14,461 meals. The placing-out department cared for 460 children in boarding and free homes, and had under care at the close of the year: in boarding homes, 218; in free homes, 27; in temporary shelter, 9; total, 198; at wages, 14. Situations were secured for 76 boys and girls. Instruction was given in sewing and manual training to 154 children. The society cared for 10,117 mothers and children at seaside homes, and for 803 mothers and children at the Harriman Home. It sent 1416 different children to the country for two weeks, and distributed modified milk to 2142 children. In forty-four years, the society has placed in free homes a total of 12,035 children.

The society maintains a "bureau of counsel, relief and investigation as the foundation of very much if not all of its helpful activity." It endeavors "to learn the applicant's precise individual need and then to adapt its advice, oversight or relief to this need as a physician does his prescription to the diagnosis of disease." The society co-operates with the various relief organizations of the city. It has received a donation of a new building containing the offices and a temporary shelter for the emergency care of children. It makes a careful examination of all applications for children. About two-thirds of the applications are rejected.

The Harriman Home is maintained for two classes: mothers who have sick babies that need inland air and who bring with them their other children under six years of age; also for boys and girls from six to twelve, some of whom are sent out by physicians, but most of whom simply need a chance to play in the fresh air and sunshine. Medical attention is given by a resident physician and food is properly prepared by the trained nurse in charge. During the summer of 1909, 803 mothers and children were cared for at the Harriman Home, usually staying for a period of twelve days.

The society maintains also a seaside home on Coney Island, where 1,715 adults and 3,743 children received entertainment during the summer of 1909.

Catholic Home Bureau for Dependent Children.—The Catholic Home Bureau was organized in December, 1908. It was begun as one of the special works of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, under the leadership of its president, Mr. Thos. M. Mulry.

The objects of the bureau are declared in its constitution as follows:

"The particular objects for which the bureau is formed are as follows: To place destitute, dependent or neglected children in family homes, in accordance with the laws of the state of New York, and for that purpose to receive such children by surrender, commitment, or otherwise, or to do such work as may tend to improve the condition of such children."

The early experiences of the bureau are humorously described in the annual report for 1909:

"As the way to place out seemed to be to place out, we began with the simple proposition of accepting every home and taking every child offered. It is, therefore, natural to find that in the early days our efforts were confined principally to securing positions for

big boys and girls, who we soon found were men and women quite difficult to manage. Our views, however, very quickly changed. Experience taught us that not every householder looking for a child was actuated by charity, and that many who were charitable, were not wise, or discreet, or careful, or possessed of those qualities which the protector of a child should have. Good judgment was needed on the part of all concerned. But officers and employes could not always be expected to constantly exercise good judgment, therefore checks were invented to protect all in the exercise of judgment. The result of this was the formation of the committee on homes.

"To explain properly the work of this committee it may not be amiss to detail slightly our method of finding homes. In the first place, the machinery of our canvass is such that no time is wasted on obviously unworthy prospective homes, and every effort is given to searching for the openings that exist in very worthy ones. This part of the work is attended to by a traveling canvasser, who puts himself in thorough accord and close touch with the pastors whom he meets in his tours. This agent sends forward to our office as full information about the proffered home as he can get. Every detail is gone into. In addition to the pastor, several other worthy citizens are consulted, and the clerical staff of the office send forward the proper blanks to the references. When these have all been received, it becomes necessary to weigh the statements and correct any errors of judgment that the agent may have fallen into in suggesting a home. This work is the particular duty of the committee on homes. They weigh carefully every statement and accept or reject them or call for further statements or opinions from the agent.

"Later, the desire for the best possible protection of the placed-out child brought about the development of an excellent system of visitations. Agents were sent on tours for this work alone. Routes were changed and no expense considered in cases where reports had indicated that children could be protected from ill-treatment, or even from minor adverse results from mistakes in placement. We early learned, also, that the office should be developed with as much care, thoroughness and perfection of details and system, as that of the best business house."

The bureau is supported partly by an annual appropriation from the city of New York, amounting to $10,000, partly by appropriations from the St. Vincent de Paul Society, and partly by donations. The expenditures of the bureau for the year 1908 were $13,667.

The bureau acts as the agent of 22 different institutions. The number of children placed from each of these institutions during the past year was as follows:

Angel Guardian Home, Brooklyn	37
St. John's Home, Brooklyn	32
New York Foundling Hospital	30
St. Agatha's Home, Nanuet	28
St. Joseph's Home, Peekskill	28
Mission of the Immaculate Virgin	24
St. Joseph's Asylum, 89th St.	22
Dominican Convent, 63rd St.	15
Asylum, Sisters of St. Dominic, Blauvelt	13
Institution of Mercy, 81st St.	13
Convent of Mercy, Syosset	6
St. Ann's Home, Peekskill	5
Orphan Home, Brooklyn	5
St. Joseph's Asylum, Brooklyn	5
St. Mary's Maternity, Brooklyn	4
Misericorde Hospital	3
New York Infant Asylum	3
New York Catholic Protectory	2
Department of Public Charities	2
Sacred Heart Orphan Asylum	1
Convent of Mercy, Brooklyn	1
St. Malachy's Home, Brooklyn	1
Miscellaneous	2
Total	282

The bureau has placed children in the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Vermont, New Jersey and Indiana. The rule of the bureau is to visit each child twice a year. The total number of children placed from the beginning is 2035. The following is a statement of the

NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER SUPERVISION, SEPT. 30, 1908

Ages	Under 2	2–5	5–14	14–16	Over 16	Total
Boys	10	66	315	179	152	722
Girls	24	133	212	51	50	470
Total	34	199	527	230	202	1,192

The following table shows the work of the bureau since its organization in 1898:

STATISTICS OF WORK OF THE CATHOLIC HOME BUREAU FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN, 1898–1908

	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	Total
Applications received											
For girls under 12 .	38	32	76	97	148	155	155	156	182	230	1,269
" boys " 12 .	12	11	30	30	69	59	72	120	173	178	754
For girls over 12 .	97	80	144	176	274	174	124	117	40	49	1,275
" boys " 12 .	31	67	99	79	209	181	214	188	57	55	1,180
Total applications	178	190	349	382	700	569	565	581	452	512	4,478
Applications investigated and approved	80	105	176	172	237	259	235	282	263	301	2,110
Applications investigated and disapproved . . .	19	50	84	102	130	81	58	125	162	146	957
Placements											
Girls under 12. .	8	18	27	37	62	103	76	85	107	122	645
" over 12 . .	11	30	51	58	20	8	6	5	2	3	194
Boys under 12 .	7	10	6	10	73	71	84	115	110	145	631
" over 12 . .	21	54	92	57	97	70	79	56	27	12	565
Total placed .	47	112	176	162	252	252	245	261	246	282	2,035
Children transferred .	6	30	55	46	48	50	..	..	41	35	311
Age ratio											
Under 12 . .	32%	25%	19%	29%	54%	70%	66%	76%	88%	94%	55%
Over 12 . . .	68%	75%	81%	71%	46%	30%	34%	24%	11%	5%	45%
Children visited . .	30	165	313	642	1,345	1,671	1,650	1,970	2,110	2,750	12,646
Homes of applicants investigated . .	99	155	265	274	377	450	350	460	390	467	3,287
Visits to institutions .	84	95	130	148	210	356	320	330	350	158	2,181

It is interesting to know that the number of applications for boys over twelve declined from 274 in 1903 to 49 in 1908, and the number of applications for girls over twelve declined from 214 in 1905 to 55 in 1908. This decline is doubtless due to the faithfulness with which the bureau has refused to be an agency for people who desire to secure cheap unpaid servants. There has been a corresponding decrease in the number of girls over twelve placed, from 58 in 1902 to 3 in 1908, and boys from 97 in 1903 to 12 in 1908. In 1901 the placements of children over 12 were 81 per cent of the whole number. In 1908 they were only 5 per cent of the whole number.

During the year 1908 the bureau had under its supervision in family homes 1430 different children, and it reports 2750 visits, an

New York Children's Aid Society Boys' Farm, Valhalla

actual average of nearly two visits to every child. The amount of supervision exercised by the Catholic Home Bureau is far in excess of that which is exercised by the average placing-out agency in the United States.

Evangelical Lutheran Children's Friend Society of New York.—Organized, 1905; headquarters, 480 Glenwood Ave., Buffalo. Total children received for placement to date, 32; placed first time last year, 8; no replacements. Current expenses, 202. The society maintains no receiving home.

The New York Children's Aid Society.—This was the pioneer children's aid society of the United States. It was organized by Mr. Charles Loring Brace in 1853. The early history of that society is set forth in a most interesting manner in Mr. Brace's book, The Dangerous Classes of New York. The society came into affiliation with the National Children's Home Society in 1907.

Mr. Brace found multitudes of neglected children in the city of New York; children who lived in cellars, boys who slept in dry-goods boxes, barrels, areas and hallways; children who were growing up to become thieves and vagabonds. Efforts were being made to meet the needs of those children by means of orphan asylums, children's homes, houses of refuge and institutions of various sorts, but those institutions proved to be entirely inadequate to meet the need. It was impossible to build orphan asylums fast enough to accommodate the increasing multitude of homeless and neglected children.

Mr. Brace adopted the plan of sending children in large numbers to farm and village homes in New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland and other states. The work gradually extended westward to Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Dakota, Nebraska and Kansas. The children were sent west, literally in carload lots. In the early years of this work, children were distributed with comparatively little ceremony. Local committees were formed to assist the agents of the society in finding homes. Mr. Brace says:* "The children are not indentured, but are free to leave if ill-treated or dissatisfied, and the farmers can dismiss them if they find them useless or otherwise unsuited. This apparently loose arrangement," he adds, "has worked well." Mr. Brace said in the International Conference of Charities and Correction of 1876,† "The employers agree to send the children to school, and, of course, to treat them kindly. Beyond this there is no agreement and no

* Dangerous Classes of New York, page 243. † Proceedings, page 139.

indentures are made out. The relation is left much to the feeling of both parties."

As the work developed, it became organized. Traveling agents were employed and local agents were appointed in different western states, to maintain supervision and watch-care of the children. For many years the children have been sent out in smaller companies, homes have been selected with increased care, and children have been supervised with increased thoroughness and fidelity. The society is now placing children in family homes to the number of about 700 per year, sending many children to Oklahoma and Texas. Another very helpful form of work adopted by the society was the promotion of immigration of worthy families to the West. This was done by obtaining reduced rates of fare or free transportation, and by assisting such families to locate satisfactorily.

In the city of New York, the society established homes for newsboys and newsgirls, and several industrial schools for poor children. It built schoolhouses in districts where the public school conditions were inadequate, provided for industrial teaching and also for partial feeding and clothing of destitute children. The city school authorities furnished teachers. The society now maintains sixteen such schools, besides kindergartens and evening schools, with a daily attendance of 6800 children.

The society last year gave relief to 7900 children in their homes. It sheltered a nightly average of 420 children in its lodging houses, and gave from one to ten weeks' outing to 6750 children in its health home, summer home, camp, farm and other places. It sent 150 crippled children to the country for one to ten weeks; and gave outings at the seaside and in the country to 650 women and children. It treated in its Sick Children's Home 3270 children. Employment was found for 2500 children. The society now maintains an institution for crippled children, for which it has received a gift of about $500,000 in cash and property. In a recent annual report, Mr. Charles Loring Brace gives the following interesting results of the society's work:*

"During the year 698 orphans and homeless children have been permanently placed with families on trial for adoption, and 250 older boys and girls have been placed in the country at wages, being 948 in all. Besides these, 577 runaway boys were returned to parents and 666 children with their parents were assisted to reach friends and employment in distant places. In all 2,191 children have been sent to the country during the year.

* Fifty-seventh Annual Report, September 30, 1909.

"We continue to be responsible for the 2,073 younger children placed in homes in former years, and 3,270 visits were made by our agents during the year to see that they were properly cared for and sent to school, and to remove and replace all those not doing well.

"Most of our wards have become farmers or farmers' wives. Of the others we know of the following careers: governor of a state, 1; governor of a territory, 1; members of Congress, 2; sheriffs, 2; district attorneys, 2; city attorney, 1; business clerks, 465; lawyers, 34; physicians, 17; postmasters, 9; railroad officials, 6; railroad men, 36; real estate agents, 10; journalists, 16; teachers, 82; school principals, 7; members of state legislatures, 7; county commissioners, 3; judge, 1; bankers, 27; merchants, 23; superintendent of schools, 2; civil engineer, 3; clergymen, 24; college professors, 2; county treasurer, 1; artists, 2; county recorders, 2; county auditors, 3; clerk of senate, 1.

"Over 3,000 entered the army and navy.

"From careful analysis of the records of all the children it is estimated that 87 per cent are doing well, 8 per cent were returned to New York, 2 per cent died, one-quarter of one per cent committed petty crimes and were arrested, and 2¾ per cent left their homes and disappeared.

"Since the founding of the Children's Aid Society in 1853 it has rescued and has placed in homes in families in the country, where many of them have been adopted, 26,966 orphans and deserted children, the records of whose welfare are kept in the Central Office. In addition to this the society has provided situations at wages in the country for 27,139 older boys and girls, and has aided 46,691 persons, mostly children, to reach friends and employment in the West, and restored 8,308 runaways to parents, 109,104 in all. Who can estimate the amount of suffering and hardship saved humanity by the rescue of these children?

"Our farm of 150 acres at Valhalla on the Harlem Railroad, for training homeless street boys for usefulness on farms, has been crowded all year with the youthful derelicts who appeal to us for help—1,158 boys in all. They come to us in great numbers, lacking money, friends or any trade or training which might enable them to make a living in the city.

"The farm accommodates 150 boys, and all the work of the farm, dairy, laundry and much of the housework is done by them under supervision of care-takers. The crops harvested and the vegetables stored for winter use have been more abundant this year

than ever, and the spirit of content among the boys is delightful to see. It is difficult for a visitor as he sees them cheerfully going about their work to realize that they are street boys.

"The co-operation between the Farm School and our five boys' lodging-houses in the city is of the greatest value. These five homes for working-boys and newsboys and the one for working-girls, have sheltered 6,250 during the year, the nightly average, 419. No one can picture the amount of hardship from which these homes have saved this army of youthful wanderers."

These are only a few of the activities carried on by the New York Children's Aid Society, at an expense last year of about $475,000.

Rochester Children's Aid Society.—Organized in 1894. "Its function is to assume the guardianship of children whom parental vice or misfortune has thrown upon the public for their support, and to secure for them carefully selected homes, the largest possible opportunities for a natural and healthful development." The society receives children by commitment of the courts or on order from the overseer of the poor. In 1909, the society opened a small home, principally for the care of babies.

The society has received in fifteen years, 787 children. It received during the year ending October 1, 1908, boys, 44, girls, 36; total, 80. It had under its guardianship at the close of the last fiscal year:

	Boys	*Girls*	*Total*
In free homes	40	46	86
Self-supporting	27	16	43
Board paid by relatives	4	0	4
In boarding homes	95	64	159
	166	126	292

The society is entirely non-sectarian, as is shown by the following statement;

	Received from 1894	*Under care* 1900
Protestant	468	184
Catholic	288	100
Jewish	13	6
Unknown	18	2
	787	292

The society employs a Catholic and a Protestant agent. It expended in the year ending September 30, 1908, for board and clothing of children, $17,500; for other purposes, $1,500; total, $19,000.

State Charities Aid Association.—Organized in 1872; head-

quarters, 105 East 22nd Street, New York. The society does important work for children under its committee on children, as one department of its general charitable work. It works for the improvement of the various children's institutions and agencies throughout the state of New York.

It "co-operates with local officials in actually finding good homes in which destitute children can be placed for adoption. The local officials have always had authority to place children for adoption in families; what they lacked was the machinery; . . . the only practicable way to secure a large use of the placing-out system with sufficiently careful methods seemed to be to actually carry on the work in close co-operation with local officials and local institutions, explaining to them in detail as we went along the various steps in investigation, selection of home and subsequent supervision, thus gaining year by year wider support and larger confidence in the plan. This work was begun in June, 1898. During the eleven years 934 children have been placed in homes, an average number of 85 per year. The growth of the work was indicated by the fact that the number of children placed last year was 176, more than twice the number placed during the preceding year."

The society had remaining in families under supervision September 30, 1909, 489 children.

The State Charities Aid Association is working also for the establishment of county agencies for dependent children. Nine such agencies have been established, of which four were organized in 1909 and two in 1908. These nine county agencies placed 73 children in free homes during the year ending September 30, 1909.

The State Charities Aid Association does a large work in providing situations in the country for mothers with children. October 1, 1909, the society has in care 549 women with children. The work was carried on during the year at a cost of $3,456. During the sixteen years from 1893 to 1909 the society has filled 7469 situations with such mothers. The number of situations filled during the year ending September 30, 1909, was 701.

North Carolina: *The North Carolina Children's Home Society.*—Organized in 1903; headquarters, Greensboro. It is supported entirely by voluntary contributions, and receives no public funds.

The society has received 377 children from the beginning. During the year ending May 31, 1910, it received 35 new children; placed for the first time, 38; replacements, 21; total placements, 59.

The number of wards under the visitation and protection of the society is 232. In addition to the placing-out work, the society has extended aid to 523 additional children.

The current expenses of the society for the year 1908–1909 were $8700. The society owns property to the value of about $2000. The erection of a temporary receiving home is under consideration.

NORTH DAKOTA: *North Dakota Children's Home Society.*—Organized in 1897; headquarters at Fargo. It places children in family homes. It maintains a receiving home at Fargo, with a capacity of 40 children, and also a smaller home for crippled and disabled children, with present capacity of about 10.

The society has received for placement from the beginning 800 children. In the year 1908–1909 it received 81 new children. It placed for the first time 48 children; replacements, 19; total placements, 67. Now under care in family homes, 350.

Value of plant $15,000; additional property and endowment $10,000; total $25,000.

OHIO: *Lutheran Children's Aid Society of Cleveland.*—Organized, 1903; headquarters, 2420 East 79th St., Cleveland, Ohio. Total number children received for placement to date, 16; placed first time last year, 2; no replacements. The society maintains no receiving home. The superintendent, Rev. Frederick Westerkamp, has carried on the society thus far at his own expense.

Ohio Children's Home Society.—Organized in 1893; headquarters, Columbus. It places children in family homes, acting as agent for such county authority as desires its assistance. During the seventeen years of its existence it has placed children for nearly half of the counties of the state.

Ohio has an extraordinary number of organizations for the care of children. The state has nearly fifty county children's homes, and about half of that number of private orphanages, nearly all of which do more or less placing-out work, though very few of them have organized systematically for placing out.

Prior to the organization of the society, many children were brought into the state by certain eastern societies and orphanages. The supervision maintained by these organizations was frequently inefficient, but has noticeably improved in recent years. The work of the society has been made difficult from the fact that a large proportion of the children received had already been placed by other

organizations, and returned before coming into the hands of the Children's Home Society.

The number of children received for placing from the beginning is 637. For the year ending November 30, 1909, those placed for the first time numbered 30; replacements, 52; total placements, 82. During the last year aid was extended to 107 children not placed out. The current expenses of the society for the year ending November 30, 1909, were $7,600. A small receiving home is maintained, but most of the children go directly into the family home. The total expense for maintenance and transportation for children last year was only $212.

OKLAHOMA: *German Baptist Brethren Home Society of Oklahoma.*—Established in 1902; headquarters at Stillwater, Oklahoma. The society receives children whose parents for good reasons cannot properly care for them and desire to relinquish them. The charter declares that the society is organized for the purpose of gathering orphan and dependent children and placing them in good Christian homes, either by adoption or by legal contract, where they shall be cared for, educated and brought up to become good and useful citizens, and this society shall keep watch over each child thus placed in a home to see that it is properly cared for, educated and brought up. It is made the duty of the manager to visit each child placed, either in person or by an agent; "if a family does not treat a child as it should be treated the managers shall take it away, even after it has been adopted or taken on legal contract."

Oklahoma Children's Home Society.—Organized in 1900; headquarters at Oklahoma City. It maintains a receiving home at Guthrie City and another at Cornish. These two homes have a joint capacity of about 40 children. The society has received for placement from the beginning 395 children. New children received in the year 1908–1909, 25; placed first time, 20; replaced, 4; total placements, 24. Remaining under supervision, 57. The current expenses of the society for 1908–1909 were $2900. Estimated value of property above indebtedness, $9800.

OREGON: *Boys' and Girls' Aid Society of Oregon.*—Organized May, 1885; headquarters, Portland. This society was not originally connected with the National Children's Home Society, but it came into affiliation with that society in 1907. It "rescues homeless, neglected or abused children of Oregon; receives juvenile offenders (by legal commitment or otherwise), who are in danger of imprisonment, provides for them until suitable homes, or employment and oversight, are found for them, and continues a systematic atten-

tion to their condition and treatment." It places children for legal adoption or not, in homes without adoption or in homes on wages.

The society contemplates establishing a farm in the country, for the industrial training of some of the boys who come under its care. It maintains a receiving home in Portland, with a capacity of about 75 children, and it does general work in behalf of neglected children. Formerly its work was restricted largely to the city of Portland and vicinity, but in recent years its work has extended through the state of Oregon.

New children received in the year 1909–1910, 168; placed in homes for the first time, 202; replaced, 292; total placements, 494; children under direct care and supervision (not including those legally adopted), 484. Much is done in aiding children without bringing them to the receiving home. About 140 children were aided during the past year in this manner, and families were kept together. The society co-operates with all the other child-saving institutions in the state, and a monthly conference of child-helping institutions at the Associated Charities of Portland, is held the first Thursday in each month. The current expenses for the past year were $13,400; value of receiving home, etc., $63,500; endowment, $68,100; total property, $131,600.

PENNSYLVANIA: *Bucks County Children's Aid Society.*—Reports 50 boys and girls in care at the close of the year. Of these children, 18 were boarding in private families and 32 were in free homes. Almost all of these children were received from the Bucks County Almshouse.

Chester County Children's Aid Society.—Established in 1884. It is fortunate in having enlisted the help of a large number of persons in its work, the active local membership at the present time being over 200. The all-day annual meetings of the Chester County society are attended by delegates from each township in the county. These meetings have done much to stimulate interest in the society and to keep its active members in touch with the work. The Chester County directors of the poor and the officials of the county home give the society their active support. A total of 176 children are under its care, 36 of whom are boarding in private families, while 140 are in free homes.

Crawford County Children's Aid Society.—Headquarters, Meadville.

Delaware County Children's Aid Society.—A separate corporation operating under a charter and by-laws similar to that of

the state society. Much excellent work has been done on behalf of homeless and neglected children. At the close of the year 13 children were under the supervision of the county society, 6 of whom were boarding in private families, while 5 were in free homes and 2 were temporarily in institutions. In addition to the care of these children, much friendly assistance was rendered by members of the society to various cases of need within the county. The society receives children from the Delaware County directors of the poor, from the juvenile court and from other sources within the county. In addition to this, the society exists "to provide effective means for the prevention of cruelty to children in the county of Delaware and to enforce laws already existing or to be made for the protection of children."

Franklin County Children's Aid Society.—Headquarters at Chambersburg. Celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in October, 1909, by holding a series of public meetings in the county at Greencastle, Waynesboro, Chambersburg and Mercersburg. The Franklin County society now owns a receiving home at Chambersburg worth $10,000 and has $2000 invested in equipment. Its officers are at present seeking to complete an endowment fund of $30,000, the income of which will be used to help meet the expenses of placing and supervising the children which it receives for care. During the past twenty-five years the society has received and cared for over 200 children from Franklin County.

Juniata Valley Children's Aid Society.—Organized during the past year through the efforts of the managers of the Huntingdon Home for Orphan and Friendless Children, Huntingdon, Pa., which will act as the receiving home for the territory included in Huntingdon, Bedford, Mifflin, Juniata and Perry counties. This action was taken so that the work in these counties on behalf of homeless and neglected children might be affiliated with the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania. The work of the Huntingdon Home for Children has been conducted along progressive lines and the effort has always been made to regard the institution as a place for the temporary care of dependent children until they can be permanently placed in families or returned to their own parents. However, this institution differs from some others in the state having the same objects, in the emphasis it has placed upon the careful inspection and investigation of family homes before placing children in them, and upon the absolute necessity of careful supervision of children after they have been placed. Its officers are endeavoring to provide a fund of at least $25,000, the income of which will be used for the definite purpose of

supervision. About two-thirds of the amount asked for has been secured. During the year 1909 the Huntingdon Home provided for 54 different children, of whom 23 remained in the institution at the end of the year, while 52 were under supervision in private families. The Juniata Valley society is the representative of the state society in the counties included in this territory.

Lycoming County Children's Aid Society.—Organized in June, 1909. A receiving home has been opened where from 10 to 12 children can be kept temporarily until they are transferred to family homes. A public meeting was held at Williamsport on June 24, 1909, to celebrate the opening of the work of the society. The local board of directors act as a county committee of the Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society, and their efforts are receiving the active financial and moral support of the citizens of the county. The county society has received 21 children from the date of its organization to December 31, 1909. Eight of these children have been placed with good families by the state society and four have been returned to friends, leaving nine in the receiving home at the close of the year.

Montgomery County Children's Aid Society.—During 1909, cared for 38 children, the expense for board, clothing, etc., being $2026. These children are all kept in private families, and in the case of those received from the almshouse the directors of the poor make an allowance for payment of board until permanent, free homes can be secured. The work of keeping the children supplied with clothing and supervising and visiting them after placement is the voluntary contribution of the Montgomery County members of the society.

Northumberland County Children's Aid Society.—The work of the society was reorganized at Bethlehem last June. From that date until December 31, 1909, a total of 21 children were received. Of this number five were given temporary care and later returned to their parents; four were placed in free homes; one was transferred to the Lehigh committee of the society; one was placed in a home to receive wages and ten children were placed at board in private families.

Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society.—Organized in 1882. The society immediately undertook the establishment of auxiliary committees in the different counties of the state. By 1887, forty-one county committees and organizations had been established. This society early undertook the organization of work in Western Pennsylvania, and in 1889, by mutual agreement, the Western Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society was organized, with

headquarters in Pittsburgh, federating twenty-three of the western counties of the state.

During the past few years, the work of the Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society has developed rapidly. In the year 1909 the society expended in carrying on its work about $90,000. It received into its care 311 children, and had under its care and supervision at the close of 1909, 1481 children, of whom 468 were boarding in private families, 774 were in private families without payment of board, and 80 were earning wages. The society receives children from the poor boards and almshouse authorities of eighteen counties, and from juvenile courts, societies, hospitals, institutions and miscellaneous agencies in various counties in Eastern and Central Pennsylvania.

"The Children's Aid Society makes no distinction as to race, creed or color in receiving children, but they are placed with those holding substantially the same religious belief as their parents in so far as that can be ascertained. The society does not indenture children or bind out any child in its care, but makes agreements with each care-taker or foster parent, safeguarding the welfare of the child in every way."

In 1908 a co-operative agreement was made between the Pennsylvania Children's Aid society, the Seybert Institution for Poor Boys and Girls, the Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty, and a number of other agencies in the city of Philadelphia, whereby the Aid Society became responsible for the placing-out work of all of the other organizations.

As a part of this co-operative movement these three agencies jointly maintain and conduct a Children's Bureau (not incorporated) to receive and investigate applications for the care of children and to make suitable disposition of them through the Children's Aid Society, the Seybert Institution, and various other co-operating agencies.

The Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society has a very complete and efficient set of records, including full information in regard to the investigation of each child, covering the social history, medical examination and a full statement of the circumstances under which the child came into the care of the society. In the placing-out department the society has developed a county index system containing very complete information in regard to all the homes offered for children in various counties of the state. A classified and detailed index is kept of the age, sex, color, religion, etc., of the children preferred by those who make applications for them. A system of vertical files contains all the original application blanks, references,

and agents' reports on the inspection of homes. There is also a complete county index showing the location of each child placed by counties and by towns within the counties. This index also shows the distance and direction of the home from the nearest railroad station and by a system of colored signal tips a complete record of visitation can be seen at a glance. Another set of cards contains the public school and church and Sunday school attendance record of each child, including on the same card the name and address of the school teacher and of the pastor. For ready reference there is also an index record, classifying all the children in the care of the society by the sources from which they have been received, so that it is possible to tell immediately the number of children received from various counties and from the different agencies through which they have come to the society. A separate vertical filing folder is used for each child and in this all essential papers and records are kept.

Lancaster County Committee of the Children's Aid Society.—Had 53 children (17 boys and 36 girls) in care at the close of the year. These children were received from the county directors of the poor, the Lancaster juvenile court and from other sources within the county. The work is being reorganized in Lancaster County, and the committee will be enlarged and closer co-operation effected between the main office of the Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society and the local committee. It is believed that this plan will be of mutual advantage. The Children's Home of Lancaster, the Lancaster Charity Society, the directors of the poor, the juvenile court and other organizations have indicated their willingness to co-operate to improve the work in the county on behalf of homeless and neglected children.

Lebanon County Committee of the Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society.—A well attended and representative meeting was held recently in Lebanon, at the instance of the Woman's Club of Lebanon, and the meeting authorized the appointment of a committee on organization to confer with the state society in regard to the development of the children's aid work in Lebanon County.

Lehigh County Committee of the Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society.—Now has 20 children boarding in private families. The directors of the poor are paying the board of the children until permanent, free homes can be secured for them. The work of finding homes, placing children and visiting and supervising them is a voluntary contribution of the county committee. Steps are being taken to reorganize the work of the society in Lehigh County.

Pennsylvania Children's Home Society, organized in 1894, head-

On a Texas Ranch

Learning to be a Farmer

Wards of The New York Children's Aid Society

quarters Pittsburgh. The Pennsylvania Children's Home Society covers the entire state of Pennsylvania. The major part of its work, however, is in the western half of the state. The society confines its work for the most part to children who can be surrendered for adoption. It does not make a practice of receiving children for temporary care or of undertaking the more general work of an "aid society." The superintendent states: "We accept children whose parents relinquish them, after signing petition, and only in cases of extreme necessity."

The society maintains a small receiving home in the city of Pittsburgh, at 5439 Potter Street, in a rented house, with a capacity of "not over thirty." A few nursing babies are boarded out in family homes at the rate of $2 to $3 per week; not over two to one nurse. The society is now building a second receiving home at Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

Number of children placed first time: fiscal year 1907–8 28; 1908–9, 26; 1909–10, 36; replacements: 1907–8, 8; 1908–9, 28; 1909–10, 25.

Income for current expenses: 1907–8, $8,293; 1908–9, $8,615; 1909–10, $10,949 plus legacy $5,000; total $15,949. The society has recently received a legacy for endowment purposes and reports value of endowment funds $32,612, receiving home $2,000, total property $34,612.

Western Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society.—Organized in 1889. It is a federation of twenty-three county children's aid societies in Western Pennsylvania, with headquarters at Pittsburgh. The Western Pennsylvania Children's Aid society is unique among the child-helping societies of America, in its entire dependence upon the work of volunteers. The societies employ jointly an "actuary" or recording secretary, with headquarters at Pittsburgh. The Allegheny County society, whose work includes the city of Pittsburgh, has one paid agent. With these two exceptions, the entire work of the twenty-three county societies is carried on by the volunteer agency of women located in the different counties. The societies receive jointly, by appropriation of the state treasury, the sum of $6,250 per year, which is distributed among the different societies according to their needs. Some of the children, especially those requiring temporary care, are placed in boarding homes, while others are placed in free homes.

The following is the report of receipts and disbursements for the year ending May 31, 1908:

CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.
RECEIPTS BY COUNTIES; YEAR ENDING MAY 31, 1908

Counties	*Board of Children*	*Directors of Poor*	*Membership*	*Contributions*	*State Aid*	*Sundries*	*Fresh Air Fund*	*Totals*
Allegheny	$2,136	..	$99	$1,376	$750	..	$969	$5,330
Armstrong	..	$100	20	65	100	..	..	285
Beaver	25	..	17	26	100	..	..	168
Butler	..	..	27	7	176	..	..	210
Cambria	..	..	12	105	100	..	..	217
Cameron	..	..	8	..	100	$11	..	119
Center	..	..	..	5	100	5	..	110
Crawford	268	..	7	3	100	35	..	413
Clarion	..	..	8	31	125	12	..	176
Clearfield	33	..	27	48	155	40	..	303
Elk	..	24	27	7	100	11	..	169
Fayette	822	5,091	..	12	150	..	..	6,075
Greene	..	..	16	18	155	..	..	189
Indiana	..	..	..	3	155	..	..	158
Jefferson	..	..	12	..	100	15	..	127
Lawrence	108	..	3	21	100	119	..	351
McKean	1,013	245	53	799	100	..	..	2,210
Mercer	..	10	10	12	175	..	..	207
Somerset	..	198	7	133	100	..	..	438
Venango	12	..	50	68	75	16	..	221
Warren	104	608	3	554	150	12	..	1,431
Washington	14	48	36	80	100	6	..	284
Totals	$4,535	$6,324	$442	$3,373	$3,266	$282	$969	$19,191

DISBURSEMENTS BY COUNTIES; YEAR ENDING MAY 31, 1908

Counties	*Traveling Expenses, etc.*	*Transfer of Children*	*Maintenance of Children*	*Clothing*	*Salaries*	*Industrial Home*	*Miscellaneous*	*Totals*
Allegheny	$131	$59	$3,775	$84	$656	$35	$661	$5,401
Armstrong	5	15	282	52	..	30	38	422
Beaver	34	..	25	52	..	30	9	150
Butler	7	..	43	12	..	30	56	148
Cambria	15	..	247	..	..	22	10	294
Cameron	45	..	10	8	..	30	15	108
Center	44	..	6	..	..	22	2	74
Crawford	1	35	345	..	..	38	5	424
Clarion	19	12	102	..	..	30	7	170
Clearfield	19	18	170	..	..	38	29	274
Elk	21	46	101	..	..	30	46	244
Fayette	62	39	5,639	23	..	35	86	5,884
Greene	7	22	56	..	..	30	71	186
Indiana	..	..	14	..	..	30	60	104
Jefferson	18	..	..	..	..	30	10	58
Lawrence	7	6	240	..	..	30	35	318
McKean	..	..	1,916	..	..	30	162	2,108
Mercer	15	11	29	..	..	30	83	168
Somerset	3	6	379	57	..	30	10	485
Venango	20	28	172	..	..	30	48	298
Warren	5	13	831	197	..	45	113	1,204
Washington	5	19	123	9	17	30	70	273
Totals	$483	$329	$14,505	$494	$673	$685	$1626	$18,795

WORK DONE BY CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA FOR YEAR ENDING MAY 31, 1908

Counties	*In Care May 31, 1907*	*Received from Almshouse*	*Received from Other Sources*	*Passed from Care*	*Returned to Friends*	*Adopted*	*Guardian*	*Of Age*	*Married*	*Died*	*Placed in Boarding Homes*	*Placed in Free Homes*	*Transferred to Counties*	*Placed in Hospitals*	*Placed in Institutions*	*In Care May 31, 1908*	*Children Visited*	*Visits in Interest of Work*
Allegheny	126	6	134	30	80	5	..	..	3	8	109	44	21	14	9	149	107	750
Armstrong	9	..	24	23	15	..	..	3	2	..	9	2	3	1	7	10	38	134
Beaver	18	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	1	4	8	19	..	..
Butler	10	..	10	6	1	2	..	2	..	..	1	10	1	1	1	14	6	93
Cambria	49	..	..	6	2	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	43	5	18
Cameron	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	3	6	8
Center	5	2	2	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	1	10	..	..	2	7	..	..
Clarion	19	2	10	5	2	..	..	1	2	..	3	3	..	3	..	26	7	92
Clearfield	32	1	4	12	6	4	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	4	25	14	64
Crawford[1]	27	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	1	26	..	149
Elk	5	6	3	7	1	..	..	..	..	1	13	1	5	1	1	7	..	116
Fayette	155	62	40	89	50	4	..	5	1	18	62	50	11	4	8	168	247	590
Greene	32	5	2	14	5	..	..	1	3	..	1	24	5	..	..	23	20	17
Indiana	66	..	13	5	..	..	..	..	3	..	6	3	2	..	..	74	2	15
Jefferson	26	..	1	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	21	..	..
Lawrence	14	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	8	19	..	1	..	17	11	107
Mercer	71	1	8	7	4	..	..	..	1	..	..	74	2	1	..	73	..	..
McKean	27	..	38	33	30	2	..	..	..	1	28	..	..	..	..	33	292	144
Somerset	68	1	2	7	4	2	..	1	..	..	2	63	..	..	..	64	3	77
Venango	47	2	7	10	1	4	1	..	..	..	17	4	4	3	2	46	53	132
Warren	29	1	21	17	7	2	1	3	..	3	..	..	1	1	2	34	59	538
Washington	18	..	15	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	9	20	7	1	2	25	11	167
Total	856	91	338	276	213	31	2	16	16	33	274[2]	331	69	35	47	907	881	3211

[1] Titusville.

[2] Includes some children boarded out in county "homes" or "children's homes."

It will be observed that the report shows 331 children placed in free homes without payment of board, and 274 children placed in boarding homes. As a matter of fact, a small proportion of the children reported in boarding homes are boarded in receiving homes, but most of them are in family homes. The placing-out work of the society is unequal; it is better in some counties than in others; but as a rule, the homes are carefully selected and the children are carefully watched over. The women who serve as volunteer agents have the advantage of placing children in their immediate vicinity, where they can easily ascertain the facts with reference to proposed foster parents.

The plans followed by the Western Pennsylvania Aid Society have some serious disadvantages. The fact that children are usually placed in homes near their birth places, makes it easy for disreputable parents or relatives to trace them, and it also makes it easy for them to be followed by an unfortunate family history, which sometimes clouds the life of the child. This difficulty is overcome in part by the transfer of children from one county to another; but this plan affords only partial relief, for lack of an adequate system of making such transfers.

The plan of using volunteer agents has another drawback, in the fact that there is a great difference in the natural efficiency of agents, and it is sometimes a delicate matter to displace a volunteer who fails to develop the proper degree of tact and wisdom. Some of these volunteers have done splendid work for twenty years or more, giving up a large portion of their time to this work. As these good women are compelled to give up the work by death, ill-health or old age, it is exceedingly difficult to replace them by younger women of equal consecration, devotion and efficiency. As a result, some of the wisest women connected with the societies favor some plan of supplementing the work of the volunteers by trained and paid assistants, and sooner or later this change will have to be made. It ought to be done, however, in such a way as not to discourage or do away with the interest and co-operation of the volunteer workers.

RHODE ISLAND: No society reported.

SOUTH CAROLINA: *South Carolina Children's Home Society.*—Was carried on as an auxiliary to the North Carolina Society from 1906 to 1909, when a charter was taken out; headquarters, Greenville. The number of children received from 1906 to 1910 was 71. Received for the first time during the year 1909–1910, 19; placed, 20; replacements, 5; total placements, 25. The current expenses

A Kentucky Boy

A West Virginia Boy

Two Placed-Out Boys and Their Dogs

for the year 1909–1910 were $5030. The North Carolina Children's Home Society and the South Carolina Children's Home Society are under the same superintendent.

SOUTH DAKOTA: *Evangelical Lutheran Kinderfreund Society of South Dakota.*—Headquarters, Watertown. No report.

South Dakota Children's Home Society.—Organized in 1893, under the leadership of Mr. W. B. Sherrard; headquarters, Sioux Falls.

This has been the most aggressive and, in some ways, the most efficient of any of the thirty children's home societies. Its work assumed a wide scope. It undertook to care for any child in South Dakota which needed care. No child was refused because of infirmity of mind or body. The support of practically the entire state was secured, including Protestants, Catholics and Jews. The special report of the United States Census Bureau on benevolent institutions showed only one orphan asylum in the entire state of South Dakota, and that contained only 52 inmates. The society became influential in every department of work for neglected children, dependents, delinquents and defectives.

The society built a beautiful receiving home in the city of Sioux Falls at a cost of about $50,000, with a capacity of about 60 children, which is used for the temporary care of children awaiting placement, and also for the temporary care of children whose parents are in temporary distress.

The whole number of children received from the beginning is 1548. During the year ending May 31, 1909, the society received new children for placement, 104; placed for the first time, 103; replacements, 42; total placements, 145. The number of children under supervision is about 500. Current expenses the last fiscal year, $9,900. Value of receiving home, furnishings, etc., $50,000; other real estate, $10,000; total property, $60,000.

The South Dakota Children's Home Society presents a remarkable instance of the practical control of the care of the dependent children of an entire state by a single organization. The state of Wyoming is auxiliary to the state of South Dakota, having no separate state organization.

TENNESSEE: No society reported.

TEXAS: *Texas Children's Home and Aid Society.*—Organized in 1897; headquarters, Fort Worth. It places children in family homes. It maintains a small receiving home, with a capacity of about 20 children, but does not maintain an aid department. From the organ-

ization of the society in 1897 it has received over 700 children. For the year 1908 the society reports children placed for the first time 100; replacements, 13; total placements, 113; total number of children under supervision, about 600. The current expenses for the year 1908 were $3,200.

The society has had slow growth, because the institutional idea prevails in Texas. There is a state orphanage, and private orphanages are maintained by Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, etc. These organizations have a united capacity of about 1800 children.

UTAH: No society reported.

VERMONT: No society reported.

VIRGINIA: *Virginia Children's Home Society.*—Chartered by the General Assembly in 1900; headquarters, Richmond. The society gives temporary care to children awaiting placement in its receiving home at Richmond, which has a capacity of about 30 children. It has received for placement from the beginning 800 children. During the year 1909–1910 it received 103 new children; placed for the first time, 107; replaced, 49; total placements, 156. It has under its care and supervision, 488. The society is gradually developing systematic aid work in addition to its placing-out work. It is specially authorized by law to receive children by commitment from the public courts. The current expenses for the year 1909–1910 were $8200. The value of its property is about $9000.

WASHINGTON: *Washington Children's Home Society.*—Established in 1895; headquarters at Seattle. In 1909 the society completed a new fireproof receiving home valued at $35,000.

The Children's Home Society has a strong hold in the state of Washington. Except for a few local orphans' homes established for temporary care of children, the state is entirely without orphanages. It does a large amount of work for children not eligible for placement. Last year the society investigated the cases of 497 children and cared for 198 children in a temporary way. It has received altogether 1,587 children. For the year ending May 31, 1910, it received 217 new children, placed for the first time, 194 children; replaced, 122; total placements and replacements, 316. The society has under its care and supervision 736 children. The current expenses for the year ending May 31, 1910, were $25,500; value of property, $41,700. It makes a specialty of securing efficient service. Its influence is felt in every line of philanthropic work in the state of Washington.

WEST VIRGINIA: *West Virginia Children's Home Society.*—Headquarters at Charleston, West Virginia. Maintains a receiving home at Charleston for the temporary care of children.

The society received last year for the first time 60 new children. It placed for the first time 46 children and replaced 45, a total of 91 placements. The whole number of children under the care and supervision of the society is 385. The current expenses of the society for the last year were $8,850; the value of the receiving home is $30,000.

WISCONSIN: *Evangelical Lutheran Kinderfreund Society of Wisconsin.*—Organized 1896; headquarters, Wauwatosa, Wisconsin. Total children received for placement to date, 857; placed first time last year, 35; replacements, 11; total placements, 46. Current expenses last year, $6,504; value of receiving home and surrounding park, $12,000. The Wisconsin Kinderfreund Society was the pioneer Kinderfreund Society, and led to the organization of the other societies.

Wisconsin Children's Home Society.—Headquarters, Milwaukee. Has been one of the efficient children's home societies. It has been especially noted for the quality of the men secured as field agents.

The society received last year for the first time 139 new children. It placed for the first time, 118; replaced, 25; total placements, 143. Expenses for the year 1909, $18,550; value of property, $25,000.

In 1909 the society organized an aid department under the efficient leadership of Mr. Bert Hall. At the end of one year the aid department had dealt with the cases of 1220 children; had secured work for 1000 children; secured homes for 25 children; had enlisted 456 "Big Brothers" who agreed to be responsible for personal attention, help and acquaintance to one boy each. The society has recently organized a "Big Sisters" department to perform a similar office in behalf of neglected girls.

WYOMING: The work of child-helping in Wyoming is carried on by the South Dakota Children's Home Society, which details a special agent for the work in Wyoming.

CHAPTER XI

SOCIETIES FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN

By ROSWELL C. McCREA, Ph.D.
New York School of Philanthropy

THE organized movement for the prevention of cruelty to children dates from the formation of the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. In 1874 the officers of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals were confronted with a case of cruelty to a child. This little girl, Mary Ellen, had been daily beaten by a foster mother and tormented in other cruel ways. The attention of charitable people was called to Mary Ellen's plight and they took up her case. It was discovered that the child could have no protection under the law until the guilt of her persecutor was established under existing legal forms. Under these circumstances they turned to the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, which handled the case. The investigation of other children's cases suggested the desirability of an organization that could do for children what was already being done for animals by a number of organizations. Mr. Henry Bergh, Mr. Elbridge T. Gerry and Mr. John D. Wright, who were already interested in the work for animals, launched the new venture, and Mr. E. Fellows Jenkins was drawn away from the American Society to become superintendent of the new organization, a post that he filled until the end of 1909. The society was formed to rescue children from vicious and immoral surroundings and to prosecute offenders, to prevent the cruel neglect, beating or other abuse of children, to prevent the employment of children for mendicant purposes or in theatrical or acrobatic performances, and for the enforcement of all laws for the protection of minors from abuse.

Meanwhile, the movement thus inaugurated has become world-wide. In the United States, other societies followed the New York Society in the following order: 1875, Rochester, N. Y.; 1876, Portsmouth, N. H., and San Francisco; 1877, Philadelphia; 1878, Boston, Mass., and Baltimore, Md.; 1879, Buffalo, N. Y., and Wilmington,

Del.; 1880, Brooklyn, N. Y., and Richmond County, N. Y. These all adopted the New York model, as other local societies, principally in the states of New York and New Jersey, have since done.

The following named societies in the United States follow the New York plan of caring only for children, leaving the care of animals to other societies:

California
Sacramento
San Francisco
Stockton

Delaware
Wilmington

Louisiana
New Orleans

Maryland
Baltimore

Massachusetts
Boston

Michigan
Detroit
Grand Traverse County

New Hampshire
Portsmouth

New Jersey
Burlington
Camden
Elizabeth
Hackensack
Hoboken
Morristown
Newark
New Brunswick
Orange
Paterson
Princeton
Trenton
Vineland

New York
Auburn
Binghamton
Brooklyn
Buffalo
Cobleskill
Cooperstown
Elmira
Fulton
Geneva
Gouverneur
Herkimer
Hornell
Jamestown
Kingston
Lockport
Newburgh
Olean
Oswego
Poughkeepsie
Richmond Co.
Rochester
Rome
Syracuse
Utica
Yonkers

Pennsylvania
Philadelphia

Rhode Island
Providence

Tennessee
Chattanooga

Texas
Houston
Fort Worth

Virginia
Norfolk
Portsmouth
Richmond

This gives a total of 56 societies devoted exclusively to the prevention of cruelty to children, excluding, of course, those instances in which child-protection is made a phase of the activity of societies doing general charity work.

The combining of the two classes of work is deprecated by many workers in organizations which deal with both children and animals; but this situation is usually regarded as a practical necessity in many places where limited resources forbid differentiation of organized activities. To be sure, opinions differ as regards the relative value of combined and separated work. The Colorado Bureau of Child and Animal Protection seems to stand unequivocally for the combining of these activities. "The protection of children and the protection of animals are combined because the principle involved, *i. e.*, their helplessness, is the same; because

all life is the same, differing only in degree of development and expression; and because each profits by association with the other." The officers and agents of many protective societies would agree with all but the last of these considerations; but the majority would disagree with that, and for this and other reasons would favor a separation of activities. The late Mr. G. T. Angell, for instance, favored separation for financial reasons. It seemed to him that contributors are often interested in but one of the two lines of work, and that to ask them to contribute to a combined organization with merged funds would often be futile. Others testify—and there is much evidence to support their contentions—that one phase of the work inevitably crowds upon the other; that there are in consequence few societies doing both branches of work with equal interest and efficiency. Combination is tolerated in these instances, because of the difficulty of obtaining support for separate ventures, neither of which could be large.*

There is increasing recognition of the unity of all work for children, and protective work is coming to be regarded as but a phase of the general movement for the improving of conditions surrounding child life. The main prevailing differences of practice among workers in the protective field turn more largely on the manner in which these ideals shall be realized, and in the degree to which co-operation with other child-helping agencies shall be carried, than on underlying differences of viewpoint. The main contrast in these respects is between those societies that make "child rescue" a prime aim, and those with which "family rehabilitation" is the guiding rule of action. The former group tend to emphasize legal aspects, the latter to minimize them in the interest of a program of social work. But in actual practice and in ultimate effect the two varieties

* Among the numerous comments on this matter received from the officials of various organizations the following, based on long experience and observation of the work of an efficient society, is suggestive:

"You are doubtless aware that these two ends are combined in our work. There might be objections to my stating an opinion which is contrary to that combination, and, for obvious reasons, I should not wish to be quoted publicly as doing so. I do think, however, that these two branches of humane work should be conducted separately, and only so can each obtain the largest development. It must be remembered, however, that this society was organized . . . . when humane work for children was in its infancy. . . . Since that time other agencies have sprung up which deal with one or more phases of the work for children. . . . We think the conditions would be greatly improved if the state would constitute a board of guardians who would have the entire charge of all work for children and would have the supervision of all institutions that provide for them. Pending the creation of any such board, we feel it our duty to go on with the work which the state has committed to us."

of policy may readily converge upon much the same lines. Experience suggests that the guiding hand of the active head of an organization rather than the scope or direction of corporate powers has regularly been the determining factor in this connection.

The New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children has stood foremost in the policy of emphasizing child-rescue as a distinct phase of work. The more clearly to realize this aim it has avoided alliances with other child-helping and charitable agencies. Its attitude toward such organizations is a friendly and increasingly co-operative one; but the distinctness of the society's field of action is clearly recognized. The officers of the organization are firm in their conviction that societies for the prevention of cruelty to children never were created for the purpose of reforming or of educating children, or for transporting them into other homes. Such societies are simply "a hand affixed to the arm of the law by which the body politic reaches out and enforces the law. The arm of the law seizes the child when it is in an atmosphere of impurity, or in the care of those who are not fit to be entrusted with it, wrenches the child out of these surroundings, brings it to the court, and submits it to the decision of the court—unless, on the other hand, it reaches out that arm of the law to the cruellist, seizes him within its grasp, brings him also to the criminal court and insures his prosecution and punishment."*

The same viewpoint is well illustrated in a letter received from the superintendent of a society in the vicinity of New York City, who says: "Our method for training workers consists in observing the New York S. P. C. C., and copying it; there being no other better way that we know of. What success we have had is all due to the excellent methods employed by the parent of all societies for the prevention of cruelty to children. The so-called charity worker, as far as I can ascertain, has never been much of a success in prosecuting work in societies for the prevention of cruelty to children. The trained charity worker is of necessity or really should be one who 'loves' as distinguished from one who 'prosecutes.' Our societies do the disagreeable work that charity workers cannot or should not do if they desire to win the affection or esteem of the persons for whom and with whom they are laboring. You cannot, for instance, take children away from their parents by court order without rousing the animosity not only of the parents of those children but of a large

* Commodore Elbridge T. Gerry in the Thirty-first Annual Report of the American Humane Association, p. 51.

part of the neighborhood as well; and a charity worker would soon be hated if he or she went about such work in any given neighborhood. S. P. C. C. work is sometimes not only heart-rending, but impossible for anyone who wishes to keep the goodwill of a community. The work has to be done in cold blood, so to speak, with a deaf ear to the pleadings and entreaties of mothers and fathers whose love for their children is never so strong as when they think their children will be taken from them. The best interests of the children, and not the feelings of those closely connected with them, have to be considered, and a trained charity worker is seldom qualified by his or her training to absolutely banish the spirit of 'love for fellowman' from his or her work. The S. P. C. C. worker, on the other hand, looks at the matter from a colder (a legal) viewpoint, and therefore the only training he should receive is such that will enable him to detect cruelty and apply the remedy, regardless of how the application affects those who are responsible for the cruelty. In short, the S. P. C. C. is not, never has been and never will be charitable, and the Court of Appeals has so held."

In this view, the ends sought by anti-cruelty workers can be assured only by specialization of function, and through an organization dominated by discipline rather than by discretion on the part of workers, by the following of definite legal rules of procedure rather than by the looser adaptation of means to ends in individual cases. The idea of the exclusive nature of child-rescue work was well expressed by Mr. Elbridge T. Gerry at the last (1908) annual convention of the New York State Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty. Among other things he said: "Year after year there are added to the ranks of philanthropy those who are anxious to benefit the helpless, to devote their time to works of charity and mercy, to aid in the education of the growing children of the great republic and to promote the spread of religion and learning throughout the country; but they draw no practical distinctions in their work. The ancient axiom that it is better to do one thing well than half a dozen imperfectly does not enter their mind.

"If child-rescue is the object, stick to that and that alone. If general philanthropy is the object, leave child-rescue work to those who by devotion to it and exclusion of other subjects have become experts in that work; just as the specialist in disease by exclusion of other subjects stands at the head of his profession in his particular department, and accomplishes marvels in his results. It is so in every science, and in one sense child-rescue is a science, far above the

The Society's Patrol Wagon

Entrance to the Main Building

New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children
(By permission of *The Survey*)

'oppositions of science falsely so called,' because its object is not simply a work of mercy, but the saving of a helpless human being from a life of misery, suffering and sin. The very fact that child-rescue work while properly carried on induces outside agencies, reformers and promoters of general scientific charity work to endeavor to utilize its machinery for their own purposes, shows how valuable that machinery is, and that the work, when concentrated on a single object and conducted without regard to matters which do not belong to it, becomes pre-eminently successful in its results as a consequence. There is nothing to-day which scientific charity does not seek to appropriate to itself, and when it cannot absorb collateral work it endeavors to obtain possession of the subject of that work and utilize it for its own end. Our workers should be careful to remember the copybook axiom and mind their own business, politely suggesting the like course to outsiders who endeavor to improve upon it."

It is a practical experience, however, that the line between destitution and neglect is a very shadowy one. And any society that maintains a policy of aloofness in its attitude toward other local societies is often placed under the necessity of doing "charity" work, or of consigning to forgetfulness and probable neglect cases requiring the friendly handling of some remedial agency. The New York Society at one period in its history encountered this dilemma. In instances it "has, in its co-operation with the courts, included also the investigation of cases of destitution."* But more recently, a co-operative attitude toward charitable organizations has resulted in a more logical disposition of doubtful cases. In these instances as in others that have arisen along similar lines, the practices of the society have been dominated by the endeavor of its officers to adhere to the ideal of child-rescue. As a result the society has performed an amount of work that could scarcely be duplicated by a different type of organization. Its efficiency is almost automatic. During 35 years of service, to the end of the year 1909, 160,977 children had been rescued from bad surroundings. These involved 122,623 cases of prosecution which resulted in 105,943 convictions.

Anti-cruelty societies, as a rule, have followed the lead of the New York organization. By effecting the enforcement of laws providing for the commitment of vagrant, mendicant and other classes of neglected and exposed children, they have of necessity emphasized the breaking up of families as at least a temporary expedient making

* Folks, Homer: The Care of Destitute, Neglected and Delinquent Children, p. 173.

for parental reform. They have tended, too, to emphasize the commitment of children (more usually for short than for lengthy periods) to reformatory and charitable institutions rather than their boarding-out or placing-out with families. And they have tended to draw sharp lines between cases of "neglect" and of "destitution." The wisdom of each of these courses can be judged, to be sure, only by reference to the facts in individual cases. And there are besides many exceptions to these statements. For instance, during 1909, the New York society, whose policies and practices are the more usual ones, reported 11,494 children brought before the court in neglect and delinquency cases. No case of "destitution" is reported. The same is true of most of the other societies. But there are important exceptions. The Delaware Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children of Wilmington, the Youngstown (Ohio) Humane Society, The Lackawanna County and the Luzerne County Humane Societies (Pennsylvania), the Passaic County (New Jersey) Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the Minneapolis Humane Society, the California Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and other less important organizations report an appreciable proportion of cases of destitution. Of the societies mentioned, it should be noted, however, that the organizations in Lackawanna and Luzerne Counties, Pennsylvania, are closely affiliated with the Associated Charities and United Charities, respectively, that operate in those counties. The Passaic County Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, likewise, is part of a larger society which includes a Children's Aid organization. Destitution and neglect are, however, so nearly akin that the figures reported are much more likely to afford material for a study of the psychology of humane workers than of the actual situation with their children's cases. The departures in practice, of most of the organizations just mentioned, from the methods of the New York society may therefore involve little more than changes in nomenclature.

In certain other instances, however, a wider interpretation of anti-cruelty work must be noted. This interpretation has tended toward a closer identity between the work of such societies and that of other child-caring and charitable agencies. The Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, for instance, sees in the tendency of anti-cruelty societies to become arms of the police a dangerous one. The necessity for prosecution is regarded as a diminishing phase of anti-cruelty work. The need for preventive and remedial measures, on the other hand, is viewed as

a rapidly growing one. In this view, social work, rather than court activities, should be the aim of such organizations. It is recognized that the sanction of the law must often be invoked to promote the ends of the community, and this is the distinctive function of anti-cruelty organizations; but in addition to the protection of children from bodily harm by this means and from serious neglect and moral injury, these societies must take upon themselves the work of developing conditions of normal family life. The Massachusetts society seeks to realize these ends.

This represents "a considerable change of emphasis from that of five years ago. Children still need to be protected against the brutality of parents, and offenders need to be prosecuted relentlessly. Children will still need to be rescued from degrading surroundings for many years to come, but the society recognizes more definitely that it is a preventive agency. It believes that it has a duty toward the children whose circumstances are, each week that the family is left to itself, becoming worse, but which are not yet so bad that court action is advisable or possible. If, by means of its close relation to the courts, it can awaken neglecting parents to a better understanding of their responsibilities before it is too late, and insist on improvement being made, the society becomes in every sense an agency for preventing cruelty and conserving family life. . . . The society has, therefore, a threefold task to perform. It must rescue children from degrading conditions, it must avail itself of every reasonable opportunity to try to reconstruct such families as are moving on to inevitable shipwreck, and, while it is working with each individual instance, it must try to seek out the causes which bring about these bad conditions, so that it may do its part to prevent them."*

The Pennsylvania society is another that has come to share "the modern economic thought that the normal condition of the child is in the home, even though the home be a poor one; the children often help their parents to reform, and the father and mother can in many cases be made to realize and feel . . . that upon them is the burden of responsibility to see that their children do not become in any sense a charge upon the community. Its belief in this theory is evidenced by the fact that in the year just closed 1,522 cases have been 'passed' over to what is technically known as 'supervision'

* Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, p. 17. Cf. this view with the very similar conclusions of the White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children. Proceedings, pp. 8–14.

cases in which, perhaps, on the first visit the breaking up of the family seemed justifiable. Endeavors have, therefore, been made in every case to preserve the family as a whole. The results obtained by the visitors and agents in this work of reconstruction have been beyond belief."*

Most of the stronger societies maintain shelters or homes for the detention and temporary care of children. This is regularly regarded as within the proper scope of the activities of a society for the prevention of cruelty to children, regardless of other differences of view that have arisen. These shelters are regularly used as temporary homes for children that have been separated from their families because of cruelty and neglect, and in most instances where juvenile delinquents are taken from their homes by court order the shelters of these societies are used as places of temporary detention. The period of stay in such shelters is usually very short. In isolated instances, children may remain for several months, but returns from sixteen scattered societies that have such shelters indicate a usual period of stay of a few days at the most. The Passaic County Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and Children's Aid Society reports an average stay per child of two months; but this is very exceptional. The New York society, for instance, reports an average stay of eighteen hours.

In view of this short period of stay, few societies have given much thought to the schooling of detained children, or to their segregation into sex groups, age groups, or groups based on the nature of causes of detention. Where segregation is practiced it usually takes the form of separating boys from girls, at least during sleeping hours. In many instances, cases of delinquency are not handled by societies, but through the usual police and court channels. Where such cases are handled, however, an attempt at segregation for purposes of detention is not infrequently made. But this practice is not so common as that of segregation on lines of sex.

As already indicated, school attendance is a minor matter in instances of detention so short as those reported by the various anti-cruelty societies. Usually, in the cases of children detained for periods longer than the average, the facilities afforded by nearby public schools are utilized. The leisure of children is, according to reports received, usually filled with various forms of occupation and amusement: sewing, assistance in housekeeping, the reading of books,

* Thirty-first Annual Report of the Pennsylvania Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, p. 12.

games and various other forms of play. How well planned and organized these activities are it is not possible to say with any degree of assurance. The probability is that as a rule they approximate the "play with liberty" ideal of the West Virginia Humane Society.

To the questions: "What special preventive expedients do you employ? and what special inquiries are you making into causes of juvenile delinquency, neglect or cruelty?" the authorities of humane societies report fairly uniform expedients. Advice, warning and prosecution are the usual devices. After-care of children returned to parents is included in the practice of some societies. A very hopeful scheme of this sort was recently inaugurated by the New York society. In instances, investigation is made of family conditions and effort is made to bring readjustments. Thorough-going work of this description, however, is rarely done. The juvenile court movement has brought with it, in scattered instances, the clinic or child study department. As Mr. Bernard Flexner has said:* "Justice to the child demands that he receive the chance that a medical examination gives him. Experience has shown that juvenile delinquency and physical defect are closely related and that correction of the one frequently works the solution of the other. We have all seen duplicated the experience of one judge who had been working with a persistent truant to no purpose until a medical examination disclosed that defective hearing and sight made it difficult for the boy to hear what was going on or to see the blackboard in the school room."

Societies for the prevention of cruelty to children have been slow to adopt this device in dealing with their children. But a beginning has been made. The New York society has recently made this a part of its work in connection with the children's court. The Broome County society (Binghamton, N. Y.) reports that its officers act in accordance with the results of examinations of the physical and mental condition of children. The Brooklyn and Pennsylvania societies are considering the advisability of adopting similar devices, and a few other organizations follow the practice in a limited way. But, on the whole, anti-cruelty societies are very much behind the practice of other private and public child-caring agencies in this regard.

In the disposal of children that come into a society's care, as well as in the degree of co-operation with charitable agencies, there

* See Part VI, page 284.

is a divergence of practice. The New York society, for instance, in the latter respect has leaned toward independence; and nearly all of its children, not returned to their own families, are sent to institutions where its hold on them is strong and its influence large. The Massachusetts society likewise maintains an independent attitude. It seeks to differentiate its work from that of other organizations in the social field; but its methods are distinctively those of an agency for social work, and every effort is made to come into the closest possible touch with all agencies that aim to improve the conditions in which children live. The Pennsylvania society has gone further. It has become associated with two other Philadelphia organizations* concerned with children's work, in forming the Children's Bureau. By means of this commonly supported central agency, a clearing house in children's work has been established. Through this joint application bureau, the needs of any child in distress can be considered. The Bureau aims to make available for such a child the particular agency in the community best fitted to this end. "It is the belief of those who have helped to develop this joint undertaking that the problem of securing proper care for dependent, neglected, deficient and so-called delinquent children is not so much dependent upon the creation of new agencies as upon securing the proper correlation and use of the numerous existing institutions and societies for the care of children." This makes it possible for each organization to perform the work to which it is best adapted. Under these conditions each can "keep within its proper sphere," and at the same time no child need be neglected. During the past year there have been times when the continuance of the work of the Bureau has been somewhat problematical. This has been largely due to the difficulty of reaching satisfactory financial adjustments.

In the matter of the disposition of children separated from their families, the large majority, as already indicated, are placed in institutions. Indeed, most societies make practically no exception to this rule. There are, however, quite a number of instances of practice to the contrary. Some societies do placing-out work on their own account, others turn children over to placing-out organizations; and still others adopt a combination of methods. The following figures are illustrative of these practices:†

* The Children's Aid Society and the Seybert Institution for Poor Boys and Girls.

† The figures are for the last statistical year (usually ending some month in 1909) of the respective organizations.

METHOD OF PLACING CHILDREN REPORTED BY VARIOUS SOCIETIES AND NUMBER PLACED

Society	*Number of children placed in institutions*	*Number placed out in homes (directly or indirectly)*
California S. P. C. C.	404	37
Cleveland (O.) Humane Society	132 (118 temporarily)	61
Massachusetts S. P. C. C.	*1398 (temporarily)	502
Montgomery Co. (O.) S. P. C. C.	44	35
Northwestern Penna. Humane Society	22	4
Ohio Humane Society	224	97
Passaic Co. (N. J.) S. P. C. C. and Children's Aid Society	139	14
Pennsylvania S. P. C. C.	206	139
Rochester (N. Y.) S. P. C. C.	59	23 (13 temporarily)
St. Paul (Minn.) Humane Society	113	6
United Charities and Luzerne Co. (Pa.) Humane Society	158	42
West Virginia Humane Society	26	92
Rhode Island S. P. C. C.	63	57
Morris Co. (N. J.) S. P. C. C. & A.	22	21

The statistical reports of societies for the prevention of cruelty to children are so varied in content and arrangement that it is impossible to make comparisons that have much significance. Even classifications seemingly covering the same items are variously interpreted, so that there are wide margins of possible error in comparing the figures of different organizations. The following table has been constructed merely as a rough illustration of the disposition of cases at the hands of thirteen of the more important organizations in the United States. Variations of practice among these are doubtless typical of divergent methods in the societies of the country at large.

It is necessary to repeat the statement that these figures have no very large value for comparative purposes. Many societies are careless about keeping records and statistics of work, and methods of counting and tabulating often suggest more of a desire to reach impressive figures than to afford accurate results. Then again, local conditions vary considerably. On *a priori* grounds one would expect a larger proportion of cases of juvenile neglect and delinquency amid the congested conditions of a large city like New York than in smaller cities. If, however, this is actually the case, it apparently does not lead to a larger proportion of separations of children from their own families than in other places. Then, too, the degree of co-operation of a society for the prevention of cruelty with other children's agencies and charitable and corrective organizations in general, surely affects

*This figure includes all children temporarily placed by the court with the Home for Destitute Children. Most of these are soon returned to parents or placed in Catholic homes.

DISPOSITION OF CASES BY THIRTEEN PROMINENT CHILD-HELPING SOCIETIES

Year	*Society*	*Area of Jurisdiction*	*Number of Children's Cases Investigated*	*Number of Children Involved*	*Number of Children Committed to Institutions*	*Number of Children Placed out in Homes (Directly or Indirectly)*	*Total Number of Children Placed in Other Homes and Institutions*	*Per Cent of Children Involved, Placed in Other Homes and Institutions*
1908	Massachusett S. P. C. C.	State. But operates mainly in Boston and environs.	...	7368	1398 (temporarily)	502	1900	25.79
1909	Louisiana S. P. C. C.	State. But operates mainly in New Orleans.	1733	4000	570	...	570	14.25
1909	California S. P. C. C.	State. But operates in San Francisco and Alameda Co.	3314	404	37	37	441	13.30
1909	Cleveland S. P. C. C.	County and City.	1022	2054	132	61	193	9.39
1909	Rhode Island S. P. C. C.	State.	687	1295	63	57	120	9.27
1909	Pennsylvania S. P. C. C.	State. But operates mainly in Philadelphia.	3123	4104 (new 1909)	206	139	345	8.40
1908	West Virginia Humane Society.	State.	1339	1572	26	92	118	7.50
1909	Ohio Humane Society.	State. But operates mainly in Cincinnati.	1965	5130	224	97	321	6.25
1909	New York S. P. C. C.	State. But operates mainly in Manhattan and Bronx.	15057	44643	2484	26	2510	5.62
1909	Mohawk & Hudson River Humane Society.	Several Counties and Cities in n. e. New York.	5348	8022	396	...	396	4.93
1909	Queen City S. P. C. C.	County and City. (Buffalo, N. Y.)	845	2445	99	...	99	4.05
1909	Brooklyn S. P.C. C.	Kings, Queens Nassau, Suffolk Counties.	8581	35204	1387	...	1387	3.94
1909	Rochester S. P. C. C.	County and City. (Monroe County.)	1616	4418	59	23	82	1.85

the situation reflected in statistics of work. Co-operation should reduce the total number of cases of children handled each year by an anti-cruelty society. And it would further seem that the larger resulting attention to individual family situations should result in a smaller number of cases requiring separation of children from their homes. What ratio this reduction would bear to the cutting down of the total number of children's cases handled is a matter of guess work. It would doubtless be at least proportionate.

The connection of humane societies and of societies for the prevention of cruelty to children with the juvenile court movement has been sporadic and in most instances comparatively slight. The New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children has on occasions been mentioned as the originator of the juvenile court movement.* In numerous other instances, however, priority has been accorded the juvenile court of Chicago. This was established in 1899—seven years later than the New York court—under auspices other than those of an anti-cruelty society. The reason usually advanced by those preferring the Chicago claim is that the court in that city was the first to apply the chancery idea of the guardianship of the state and to adopt a genuinely social attitude toward juvenile delinquency. They urge that the test of a true juvenile court is to be found in a departure from ordinary court methods that carries with it not only a change of demeanor on the part of the judge, but also a corresponding modification of the personal and legal machinery and the physical equipment of the court. They urge that in Manhattan the conventional bench has not given way to the unconventional desk or table; that the crowded court room still precludes the largest possibility of personal touch between judge and child; that the demeanor of a trial judge rather than that of a protector and adviser is maintained by the court; and that parole rather than genuine probation is the method of dealing with delinquents that are not separated from their families.† It is urged on the other hand that

* See report of the N. Y. S. P. C. C. for 1907, pp. 19–22. I quote from this the following: "The juvenile court movement, which had its origin in New York in 1892 by the passage by our legislature of a statute separating the trial of children from that of adults charged with crime, giving preference to children's cases, has culminated not only in the present perfect development of the juvenile court here, but in provisions in many other states for children's trials in separate buildings."

† Mr. Flexner gives the following description of the Manhattan Children's Court in his chapter in this volume (page 262) referred to above:

"The Manhattan Children's Court is a type of such a court. The judge in his judicial robe sits high upon the bench with the child below him in the position and attitude of the adult offender brought before the bar of justice, in a very small overcrowded room, filled with men, women and children of all ages. The fundamental

the formalities of legal procedure that characterize this court in no wise detract from the friendly interest of the court in the child; but that such formalities do add an element of impressiveness of the utmost value in dealing with the classes of people that come before the children's court. Many of these are recent immigrants or the children of immigrants, most of whom are quite unfamiliar with American institutions. With such individuals the judicial robes and accompanying formalities do more to promote reliable conduct and respect for law than the looser methods of the other type of court possibly could do. Such a court as that in Denver or those in numerous other smaller cities would in this view be ill-adapted to the requirements of an urban area like Manhattan.

The connection of the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children with the work of the children's court of Manhattan is very close; and the practices of the latter are doubtless in considerable measure a part of the policy and practice of the former. Indeed, there is no state in which the affiliation between societies for the prevention of cruelty and the children's work of local courts is closer than in New York state. In other cities of the state, however, this affiliation has resulted in a closer approximation to less formally judicial methods of treatment of juvenile delinquents than in Manhattan. This is true, at least, of Brooklyn, Albany, Schenectady and Rochester.

In other states, the tendency is largely away from any consider-

principle for which juvenile court workers have been striving is lost sight of in the forbidding formal trial of the child, characteristic of the procedure of the Manhattan court and others of its type. Reporters of the daily press flock there for their stories of 'human interest' and, in utter disregard of its effect upon the children, drag their names and pictures into the daily newspaper. The state thus occupies a thoroughly illogical position; it establishes a judicial institution for a specific purpose, and then conducts it in a way largely to defeat that purpose.

"Probation, the court's most efficient weapon, and the many constructive social forces that probation can employ, are unknown in a court like this, where the controlling thought is whether the child is guilty or not guilty. If the real function of the court is to be worked out in Greater New York, if it is to become an institution contributing to share in the salvation of the city's children, it must be built over from its very foundations; the recreated court must abandon the traditions of the criminal court, conforming to lines intelligently laid down elsewhere and now embodied in the legislation of a decade."

Various items of this description have been characterized as either exaggerated or false by some persons familiar with the Manhattan court. The superintendent of the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, for instance, states that the court is not conducted either in the spirit or by the methods of a criminal court; that the child is not "in the position and attitude of the adult offender"; that the child's story cannot possibly be heard in such way as "to make it the property of the overcrowded room," for the conversation between judge and child cannot be heard more than a few feet from the judge's bench; and that newspaper publicity is not so prominent in New York as it is in many other cities having the other type of court.

able degree of control by humane societies of the work of children's courts. It is only in relatively few instances that such societies have any part in shaping the work of juvenile courts. The latter have originated and developed under other auspices. In some instances, the agents of anti-cruelty societies act as prosecuting officers in the courts; in some, these agents appear for the children; in some, they serve as probation officers; and not infrequently the shelters of such societies are used by the courts as places of detention for children. In instances, parents and guardians, who have contributed to the delinquency of children brought before the courts, are prosecuted by the agents or officers of humane societies. But there is no uniformity in any of these practices between states or even between cities in the same state. The relative strength and prestige of a local humane organization are likely to determine its degree of participation in the work of a children's court within its jurisdiction. But strong humane organizations are relatively few, and they are not growing rapidly either in numbers or in strength. The juvenile court movement on the other hand is developing by leaps and bounds. The outcome is likely to be a relatively diminishing influence, if not a correspondingly diminishing participation of anti-cruelty societies in the work of children's courts.

In conclusion, it should be said that there is a growing tendency to regard the governmental attitude toward societies for the prevention of cruelty as an evasion of duty. The incorporated society is a dubious cross between a private venture and a public department.* It is a species of private police, clothed with a modified responsibility. Upon it falls any obloquy that may attend its operations, rather than upon the community whose half-heartedly expressed will it represents. There are not a few who think that the state should reconsider its share in this undertaking.† There are more than two hundred societies in the United States that aim to protect children from cruelty. Most of these approach more nearly the plan of the New York society than they do the scheme of work followed by the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania organizations. But when all has been said, it must not be forgotten that in the field of child-helping and child-caring work, organizations and institutions other than those specifically organized for the prevention of cruelty are a largely preponderating element.

* This view is of course not in harmony with that expressed by the court in The People, etc., ex. rel. The State Board of Charities *vs.* The New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (161 N. Y., 233; 162 N. Y., 429).

† See Gray, B. Kirkman: Philanthropy and the State, pp. 211–221. London, King, 1908.

CHAPTER XII

JUVENILE COURT COMMITTEES AND ASSOCIATIONS

THE juvenile court owed its origin in Chicago to the efficient work of the women of the Chicago Women's Club, who began the movement and stimulated other organizations to efficient co-operation.

When the act was passed these women organized a "Juvenile Court Committee" to promote the efficient operation of the law, to create a healthy public sentiment and to furnish moral support to the court. Mrs. Lucy L. Flower was the chairman of this committee, and had the able support of some of the best women in Chicago. They had the wisdom to avoid sentimentality and to lend the court the most practical and efficient aid.

The original act authorized the judge to appoint probation officers, but expressly provided that they should not receive compensation as such from the public treasury. The mayor detailed a picked force of policemen to act as probation officers. These men doffed their uniforms and at the same time freed themselves as far as possible of the policeman's point of view; but the friends of the court agreed that it was necessary to reinforce the police probation officers by suitable men and women from civil life.

The law provided also that children should not be kept in any jail or police station, but in some other suitable place to be provided by the city or county. No such place existed in Chicago. The juvenile court committee rented a dwelling house, refitted an adjoining stable as an annex, and there maintained a "detention home" for several years, the city and county providing for the major part of the expense.

The juvenile court committee raised for the salaries of the probation officers and the maintenance of the detention home as high as $20,000 per year. They selected persons whom they deemed suitable for probation officers and tendered their services to the court. The judge invariably accepted their nominees and gave them official appointment.

Subsequently, through the efforts of the juvenile court com-

mittee, legislation was secured providing for the selection of probation officers under civil service rules and for their payment from the public treasury. The civil service board included such people as Miss Jane Addams and Mr. Ernest Bicknell. The examinations were framed with a view to discovering the qualifications of the applicants for the actual work to be done and a high quality of probation officers was secured.

When these tasks were accomplished, the committee undertook the enlistment of a corps of volunteer workers to co-operate with the regular probation officers in dealing with individual cases. This movement was actively promoted by Miss Minnie F. Low of the United Hebrew Charities, an experienced probation officer who had organized an association for carrying on this important line of work, which was subsequently consolidated with the juvenile court committee.

Without the splendid work of the juvenile court committee the court would have been seriously handicapped, if not an entire failure. The highest credit is due to Mrs. Lucy L. Flower, Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Mrs. Joseph P. Bowen, Miss Minnie F. Low, and the other women whose wisdom, courage and unselfishness insured the success of the committee.

The Chicago Juvenile Court Committee was notable as the pioneer in this line of service. Similar services have been performed by similar committees in other cities, notably Philadelphia and Brooklyn; but not all of the committees have displayed as high a degree of wisdom and tact as the Chicago committee. Some such committees have gotten into difficulties through their lack of efficient leadership, while others have encountered difficulty because of the feeling on the part of judges and court officials that they were disposed to usurp the proper functions of the court.* On the whole, however, the services of the volunteer court committees, composed wholly or in a large part of women, have been invaluable.

A committee of the New Century Club of Philadelphia, under the active leadership of Mrs. Frederic A. Schoff, secured the enactment of a juvenile court law by the Pennsylvania Legislature of 1901. This law was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1902. A new bill was prepared to cure the defects of the original bill and was passed by the efforts of the committee in 1903. For several

* For a detailed account of the work of the Chicago Juvenile Court Committee, see article of Mr. Henry W. Thurston on The Juvenile Court as a Probationary Institution, Chap. XXII, of this volume.

years the New Century Club maintained a committee on probation officers. As the law made no provision for the compensation of probation officers, this committee undertook to provide probation officers and to raise the money for their compensation. Subsequently there was organized the Philadelphia Juvenile Court and Probation Association, for the organized prosecution of the same lines of work.

A bill was introduced in the Pennsylvania legislature for 1909, to establish a juvenile court and probation association in every county, these probation associations to have authority to select probation officers and to direct the work of the probation officers. The bill provided for the giving of larger discretionary powers to the probation officers. This bill failed to pass the legislature.

PART FIVE

FAMILY HOME CARE—THE PLACING-OUT SYSTEM

CHAPTER XIII

THE EVOLUTION OF THE CHILD-PLACING MOVEMENT

VIRGINIA, 1619—CHILD IMMIGRANTS APPRENTICED

THE child-placing movement dates back at least to the day when Miriam placed the infant Moses in the home of Pharaoh's daughter. She was very fortunate in her selection, and he turned out very well. In this country it began, probably, in 1619, when the mayor of London sent out to the Virginia Company one hundred children, "to be placed with honest and good masters." The Virginia Company decreed that they "be educated and brought up in some good trade and profession, whereby they may be able to get their living and maintain themselves when they shall attain their several ages of ffouer and twenty years or be out of their apprentiships, which shall endure at the least seven years if they so long live."

This law and similar laws enacted in other colonies contemplated the relation of master and servant, and in many cases the bound boy and the bound girl were in a condition not very different from slavery. But there is a better way, namely, to place children where they will become members of the family and be treated as sons and daughters. Many children were so placed in families by benevolent individuals and by managers of orphan asylums in the early years of this country; but many others were placed in orphan asylums and kept there until young manhood and womanhood. There was no organized plan of placing children in family homes and there were no societies devoted to that specified work.

NEW YORK, 1853—THE NEW YORK SYSTEM

The pioneer of the organized child-placing movement was Charles Loring Brace, who, in 1853, organized the New York Children's Aid Society and began sending children to western homes. Mr. Brace took issue with those who advocated a long course of training for children in institutions. He maintained that institutional care

was unnecessary for healthy, normal children, except for very brief periods. He took children from the streets of New York and sent thousands of them to farm and village homes. Homes are carefully selected and trained workers are employed to visit and befriend the children. The society is still placing out children at the rate of 600 to 700 yearly, and its records show that the great body of these children have done well and have made good citizens.*

Great numbers of children have been placed in family homes by individual institutions of New York, like the Brooklyn Children's Aid Society, the New York Juvenile Asylum, the Catholic Protectory, the New York Infant Asylum, and the New York Foundling Asylum; but notwithstanding these efforts, the number of dependent children in institutions in New York has multiplied. The report of the state board of charities September 30, 1909, showed 32,100 dependent children in institutions. The special report of the United States Census Bureau showed that New York had in institutions, out of every 100,000 inhabitants, December 31, 1904, 317 dependent children; Massachusetts, 129; Illinois, 99; Michigan, 65.6.

A great step forward was taken when the Catholic Home Bureau for dependent children was organized in 1898. The bureau acts as the placing agent for Catholic children for the department of public charities of the city of New York and also for more than 20 Catholic institutions. In the ten years of its existence it has placed out 2,035 children; in the past year, 282.

Most of the placing-out agencies in New York act as agents of the public authorities and are reimbursed in part for the expense of placing out from the public treasury.

The New York Children's Aid Society was followed by the organization of the Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society, the Boston Children's Aid Society, and the Henry Watson Children's Aid Society of Baltimore. Auxiliary societies or other similar societies were organized in New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, all of which adopted the plan of placing out children in family homes.

MASSACHUSETTS, 1867—THE MASSACHUSETTS SYSTEM

In 1660 the Massachusetts colony passed an act authorizing selectmen who "shall find masters of families negligent of their duty, whereby children and servants become rude, stubborn, and unruly . . . to take such children or apprentices from them and place them

* For details of the work of the New York Children's Aid Society see pages 175 to 178.

with some master who will more strictly look into and force them to submit unto government." The idea of master and servant was prominent for many years.

In 1866 the Massachusetts state reform schools had a population of 625 children and the state almshouse had a population of 600 children. There were about 1,000 indentured children who were wards of the state, but without adequate supervision. On the initiative of Dr. S. G. Howe, chairman, and Mr. Frank B. Sanborn, secretary of the state board of charity, a visiting agent was appointed for the oversight of these indentured children. In 1867, the state board of charity suggested that the board should be paid for some of the troublesome children, including infants, "in order to make it worth the while of better families to receive the children."

The Massachusetts system differed from the New York system in that there was no partnership between the private institution and the public treasury. State funds were expended by agents of the state and private societies were sustained by private donations and endowments.

The Massachusetts plan of state care for children grew rapidly until there are now in private families on board 2,600; in private families free, 1,200; total, 3,800. There is appropriated from the state treasury for the current year for the expense of receiving, placing, boarding, visiting, and supervising children, $452,000. The state maintains a large corps of agents and visitors to care for this great family.

The city of Boston also maintains an agency to care for children who are, under the settlement laws of Massachusetts, wards of the city. The city has about 1,000 children under its care in family homes, for whom it expended last year over $90,000.

The private children's societies of Massachusetts receive no public aid, but are very efficient.*

Massachusetts has gone farther than any other state in substituting the family home for the institution. The state abolished its Monson School for Dependent Children and diminished the size of the boys' reformatory by one-half twenty-five years ago. The city of Boston closed its home for dependent children; ten or twelve private homes and asylums have been closed, and have not been replaced. Family care has taken the place of these institutions.

* For details of Massachusetts child-helping societies, see pages 161 to 164.

OHIO, 1863—THE CINCINNATI CHILDREN'S HOME

In the winter of 1863, Mr. Murray Shipley, a Quaker minister and merchant, devised and founded the Cincinnati Children's Home. It is stated by Supt. M. V. Crouse that this was the first institution in the world to be called a "children's home." The children's home adopted from the outset the plan of placing homeless children in family homes and has followed it ever since. It also gives temporary care to needy children who are not eligible for placement.

Later the Cleveland Protestant Orphan Asylum abandoned the policy of bringing up children and began placing out children systematically. It has placed approximately 100 children each year ever since.

These two institutions were the pioneers of a movement in the central states whereby most of the orphan asylums ceased to bring up children to young manhood and womanhood. They became largely places of temporary care where children were either returned to their parents or were early placed in family homes.

OHIO, 1866—COUNTY CHILDREN'S HOMES

In 1866 the Ohio general assembly authorized counties to establish county children's homes in order to remove them from the bad environment of the almshouses. The system grew rapidly until, in 1901, there were 51 county homes, containing 2,250 children. The law contemplated the use of the placing-out system in connection with these homes, but that branch of activity has never become very efficient. In 1889 a law was passed authorizing each county home to employ a placing-out agent, but very few such agents were appointed. In 1907 a law was passed requiring the children in county homes to be placed out, with the result that many children were removed from county homes by relatives who found means to provide for them when they learned that they were to be placed in families.*

MICHIGAN, 1873—STATE PUBLIC SCHOOL

In 1873 the state of Michigan opened a state school for dependent children at Coldwater, built on the cottage plan. The law creating this school provided that it should be "only a temporary home,

* For details of the county home system, see pages 55 and 56.

while the child is on its way to its own place in the family." This law was drawn by the late state senator C. D. Randall.*

The Michigan system attracted wide attention at home and abroad. It was adopted by the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Colorado, and it stands in high favor in all of those states.

SOLDIERS' ORPHANS' HOMES

There is one unique class of state institutions for dependent children. It is a remarkable fact that although the civil war closed forty-four years ago, soldiers' orphans' homes for the children of soldiers of the civil war are still maintained by the states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas.

In Kansas, Iowa, and Illinois laws have been passed authorizing the soldiers' orphans' homes to receive other dependent children and to place them in family homes on plans similar to those of the state public schools, already mentioned. But thus far very little placing-out work has been done by these homes, because their traditions do not run in that direction.†

ILLINOIS, 1883—CHILDREN'S HOME SOCIETY

In 1883 a society called the American Educational Aid Association, which subsequently became known as the Children's Home Society, was organized in Illinois by Rev. M. V. B. Van Arsdale. This society adopted the general principles followed by the children's aid societies of the East, but it differed from most of them in being a state organization instead of a local one. It was for many years almost exclusively a placing-out society.

A National Children's Home Society was organized which has become a federation of 30 societies of which the New York Children's Aid Society and the Oregon Boys' and Girls' Aid Society have also become members.

The work of the children's home societies has assumed large proportions. The combined statistics of the 30 societies for last year show: Children received for the first time, 3686; children placed first time, 3215; replacements, 2115; total placements and replacements, 5330; children awaiting placement at close of the year, 800;

* For details of the "state public school" system, see pages 53 and 54.

† For details of the state soldiers' orphans' home system see pages 54 and 55.

children under guardianship in family homes, about 17,000. Current expenses, last year, $488,000; property accumulated (lands, buildings, furniture, and endowments), $996,000.*

NEW JERSEY, 1897—STATE BOARD OF GUARDIANS

The New Jersey legislature in 1897 created a State Board of Children's Guardians. Under the act the governor appoints a board of seven persons to whose custody all children who become public charges are committed. No state home is maintained, but children are kept at board in families until a "free home" can be found. The board is paid by the county from which they come. The state appropriation is about $7,000 per year for the maintenance of the board. The payment of counties for board of children amounts to about $30,000 per year. Board is paid at the rate of $1.50 per week, with an allowance for clothing and medicines averaging $16 yearly.

The New Jersey law differs from the laws of Indiana and Massachusetts because the state board of guardians is an independent agency, not attached to a state board of charities. A similar separation has been proposed in Massachusetts. It differs from the state public school laws of Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Colorado, in that it provides for no institutional care. The New Jersey plan of an exclusive board to deal with children who are public wards is being watched with much interest and is likely to find favor in other states.

The District of Columbia has a District board of guardians, organized in 1893, with powers similar to those of the New Jersey board, but the District board uses private institutions for temporary care and to some degree for permanent care.

The state unit is greatly preferable to the county or municipal unit in administering placing-out work, because most of the city children must go to the country, and many of them ought to go to a distance from their original environment in order to escape injury from vicious parents or unsavory family history. The state agency covers both the urban and the rural districts, and thus avoids complications and minimizes expense.

The Indiana state agency has not only the supervision of children placed by it and by county boards of guardians, but has also supervision of children placed in family homes by private agencies. Similar supervision is exercised by state boards of charities or state

* For details of the work of the National Children's Home Society, see pages 145 to 148; also under "Detailed Account of Child-Helping Societies," page 150 ff.

boards of control in New York, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and perhaps some other states.

NEW YORK, 1898—THE ROMAN CATHOLIC MOVEMENT

The placing-out method is not a new one in the work of the institutions of the Roman Catholic Church. Individual orphan asylums, foundling asylums, etc., have been sending children out into family homes for generations. The New York Foundling Asylum is one of the largest placing-out agencies in the world. It places about 500 yearly, the Catholic Protectory of New York about 200, other New York agencies about 400, making a total of about 1,400 children placed out yearly by the Roman Catholic agencies of New York alone.

In Minnesota Archbishop Ireland began boarding infants in family homes about twenty-five years ago. From this beginning, placing-out work was gradually enlarged, so that, notwithstanding the rapid increase of the population, only two new Catholic orphan asylums have been established in Minnesota in the last fourteen years, one with a capacity of 70 children and the other with a capacity of 50. The total capacity of all of the Catholic orphan asylums in Minnesota together is only 550.

While individual Catholic institutions have done a large placing-out work, the organized effort among the church institutions is very recent. The establishment of the Catholic Home Bureau in New York in 1898 marked an epoch in the splendid work of the Roman Catholic Church for dependent children. This society enables small asylums, which could not afford to maintain separate agencies, to avail themselves of its trained workers and its thorough and well-considered methods. The bureau is already placing out children at the rate of 300 per year, and has instituted most careful and painstaking methods.

In the report of the Catholic Home Bureau for 1898, the late Archbishop Corrigan is quoted as follows:

"The founders of the bureau realized that our Catholic institutions were in danger of being overcrowded, and their highest usefulness, in a measure at least, impaired by the necessity of retaining and properly caring for children long after the age when they might be placed safely in private families. . . . The founders of our organization felt that that good work should be supplemented by an earnest effort on the part of good Catholic families to open up to these

children, already trained and instructed, the avenues that lead to employment and self-support." *

The Catholic Children's Aid Association of New Jersey was organized in 1903. In five years it has placed 458 children in foster homes and 789 children in homes of relatives. Its record for 1908 is 105 children placed in foster homes and 225 in homes of relatives, a total of 330. The association acts as the agent of nine institutions for children. It expended last year $6,900. A splendid spirit of enthusiasm and thoroughness is shown, and the association is growing in public confidence and good will.†

In Boston the Catholic Charitable Bureau has been established to find homes for Catholic children. The St. Vincent de Paul Society also does some work, placing Catholic children in family homes. A small Catholic Home Bureau has been organized and is at work in Milwaukee.

It is not too much to hope that by further development along the same line the existing orphan asylums will prove sufficient for future needs without creating new establishments. The great mother church will solve this problem with the same wisdom and fidelity which she has brought to the successful solution of many of the great problems of philanthropy. It seems providential that this delicate and difficult task should have fallen into the hands of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, which carries into the work of philanthropy that personal touch and that sense of individual responsibility for the individual which is the essential element in any right system of placing in family homes.

WISCONSIN, 1902—THE LUTHERAN MOVEMENT

The German Lutheran Church had for years a strong system of orphan asylums, but some of the leaders of that church, after watching the work of the Children's Home Society, organized in 1902 the Lutheran Kinderfreund in Wisconsin and began placing children in family homes. There are now 14 societies operating in as many states, under the auspices of the German Lutheran Church.

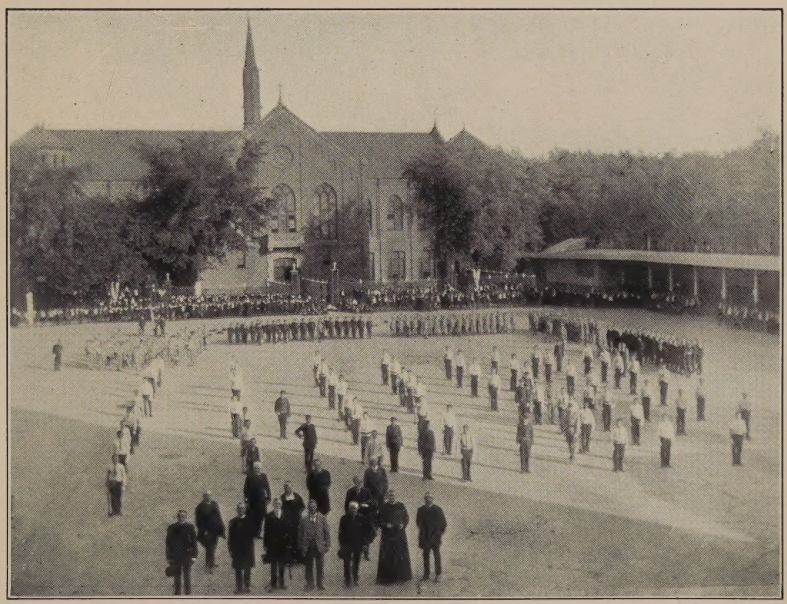
The Scandinavian Lutherans have recently started a similar movement.‡

* For details of the work of the Catholic Home Bureau, see pages 171 to 175.

† For details of the Catholic Children's Aid Society, see pages 167 and 168.

‡ For details of the Kinderfreund movement, see pages 147 and 149; also under "Detailed Account of Child-Helping Societies," page 150 ff.

Main Building, Boys' Department



St. Patrick's Yard
New York Catholic Protectory

CINCINNATI, 1899—CLOSE OF THE CHILD-PLACING CONTROVERSY

For twenty-five years a vigorous and sometimes warm discussion was waged in the National Conference of Charities and Correction between those who advocated the institutional plan of bringing up children to manhood and womanhood in orphan asylums, industrial schools, etc., and the advocates of the placing-out system of bringing up children in selected family homes. This discussion continued up to the year 1899, when it was practically closed by the epoch-making report of the committee on the care of destitute and neglected children, which was prepared and presented by Thomas M. Mulry, president of the St. Vincent de Paul Society of New York, to whom belongs the honor of speaking the final word on this long controversy and laying down a platform which has been accepted with practical unanimity by Protestants, Jews, and Roman Catholics, managers of children's institutions, and managers of children's societies alike.

In the early years of this discussion there was sharp division. Advocates of the institutional plan charged that children placed in family homes were treated like slaves; that they were given out recklessly to almost anyone who would receive them; that many of them were practically abandoned by those who placed them out; and that many were found in reform schools and grew up to be criminals.

On the other hand, advocates of the placing-out system denounced institutions in unsparing terms. Some went so far as to declare that the worst home was better than the best institution; others declared that institutions for dependent children were entirely unnecessary and that all such children could be cared for in family homes.

The discussion went on from year to year. Advocates of the institutional plan showed the advantage of being able to control the child's environment, his sanitary conditions, his intellectual, physical, religious training, and security against the contaminating influences of the street. They pointed to the abuses practiced upon children bound to avaricious farmers and penurious housewives.

The advocates of the placing-out system emphasized the advantages of home life, with its free and natural atmosphere, and with the care and training of selected foster parents. They urged the disadvantages of "institutionalism," the artificial environment and its unfavorable effect upon the initiative, independence, and force of the child. They dwelt upon the contamination which inevitably arises from massing children in large numbers and grew enthusiastic over

the financial saving to the benevolent, incident to the use of the family home instead of the institutions.

As years went on the two opposing factions gradually came together. The advocates of the institutional plan came to recognize its disadvantages and limitations. Institutions like the Cleveland Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Catholic orphan asylums of Minnesota began placing their children in homes, and the asylums gradually tended to become temporary refuges for children. On the other hand, the advocates of placing out children came to recognize the legitimate work of the institutions in preparing children who had been neglected for family life. Most of the placing-out societies established temporary homes for this purpose, and thus became themselves institution managers, and were not longer in a position to indulge in indiscriminate criticism of institutions.

Signs of agreement were visible at the great New York conference in 1898, but it was left for Mr. Mulry, as mentioned above, to bring the two opposing wings into harmony at Cincinnati in 1899, and his report has become one of the classics of the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

The placing-out method has come to stay. It is for us to establish such high ideals and standards as are demanded by the sacredness of a work which undertakes to lay hold upon a child, absolutely helpless and dependent, and to determine his whole future without his volition or acquiescence. That is no light responsibility.

CHAPTER XIV

THE OPERATION OF THE PLACING-OUT SYSTEM

CHILD-PLACING is defined by the laws of the state of New York as "The placing of a destitute child in a family other than that of a relative of the second degree, for the purpose of providing a home for such child." *

Children may be placed out in private families on board, the board being paid either by the parents, in whole or in part, or from the public treasury, or from the treasury of some private organization. The boarding-out system is used extensively in the state of Massachusetts, where in 1908 the state board of public charities paid from the public treasury for "the support of state minor wards," $346,000. The city of Boston paid for the board and care of children in the neighborhood of $75,000, and private organizations paid in the neighborhood of $50,000, a total of about $471,000 for the care of children boarded in private family homes.

The boarding-out system is practiced quite extensively in the state of Pennsylvania and the District of Columbia. It is practiced to a considerable extent also in the states of New Jersey and California, and in a lesser degree in the other states of the Union.

In Massachusetts, the tendency has been to substitute the placing-out method for the care of children in institutions. The building of new orphan asylums has practically ceased, and no less than 13 orphan asylums and children's homes have been closed within the last few years, family home care being substituted. Among the institutions closed were: The Massachusetts State School at Monson; the two homes of the Boston Children's Aid Society; the home of the Boston Children's Friend Society; the home of the Boston Children's Mission; the Boston Female Asylum.

The Boston child-helping societies have substituted home care for institutional care, even in cases where the child is only to be under care for a day or two.

The boarding-out plan has not yet made much headway, ex-

* Chap. 57, Laws of 1909, Section 300.

cept on the Atlantic border. In the central states, public sentiment has not yet advanced to the point of providing the necessary financial support for the boarding-out system. It is usually much easier to induce people to contribute toward the support of an institution with visible buildings, grounds and groups of children, than to induce them to contribute toward the support of children scattered in farm and village homes, without any visible institutional signs. Strangely enough, people will cheerfully contribute for the building of expensive institutions, and will contribute in addition full as much for the support of children in these institutions, as they would have to pay for their support in family homes outside of the institutions.

On the other hand, it is always easier to obtain free homes (without the payment of board) for children in new and undeveloped communities, than in old and rich communities. People in primitive communities are apt to be warm-hearted and hospitable. They have no fine furniture and polished floors to be injured, and, on the other hand, they are glad of the contributory services of a growing boy or girl. As a community grows older or richer, and as people accumulate mahogany furniture, fine rugs, polished floors and formal manners, they become less willing to receive a neglected, untaught, dirty and troublesome child.

It is not easy to predict whether the boarding-out system will find favor in the West, but the probability is that it will develop there, as it has in the East. It is probable also that this plan will have to be taken up by the state governments in the West, as has already been done in the East, for the reason that the cost of this method on a large scale is beyond the probable means of the child-helping societies.

A second form of child-placing is the placing of children in family homes without the payment of board. In these cases the child is supported by the foster parents. Such children may be placed for adoption, the child being legally adopted by the foster parents, or they may be placed on an indenture contract, whereby the child is to remain with the foster parents as long as the conditions of the indenture are fulfilled; or they may be placed without any contract, the placing-out agency retaining the guardianship of the child, with the right to remove it from the home of the foster parents at discretion. The plan of adoption is followed in the cases of many young children who are without responsible relatives. The plan of indenture was formerly very widely practiced, but has gradually been falling into disfavor, for the reason that it was found that the

indenture contract did not protect either the child or the society or the foster parents. The indenture contract does not sufficiently protect the child because he is too young and ignorant to stand for his own rights, and in a great many cases the supervision maintained by the placing-out agency is so inadequate that it is not informed in case of the child's needing protection.

The indenture system does not protect the society for the reason that the agents of the society may be fully convinced that the interests of the child demand removal, while at the same time they are unable to prove any specific violation of the conditions of the indenture; and if they attempt to remove the child, the foster parent sets up the indenture as a legal and moral barrier to his removal, and the burden of proof rests upon the indenturing agency to show that the conditions of the contract have not been kept.

The indenture system does not protect the foster parent because the courts have ruled that the child may be taken away from the foster parents, notwithstanding the indenture contract. Under the common law principle that the welfare of the child is to be the controlling interest, foster parents who have attempted to defend their claim to the child have found themselves defeated.

As a result of these conditions, many of the leading child-helping societies, like the New York Children's Aid Society, the New York Juvenile Asylum, and the Chicago Children's Home and Aid Society, no longer execute indenture contracts, but reserve the right to remove the child at pleasure, relying upon their own guardianship of the child for his protection.

CHAPTER XV

THE PLACING-OUT SYSTEM: SELECTION OF HOMES

THE placing-out system has suffered much deserved reproach because of the careless and inconsiderate distribution of children. In former years much emphasis was placed upon the cheapness of this method of caring for children. Many child-placing agencies accepted young children for a fee of $25, with the understanding that that sum would enable them to discharge their full obligation toward the homeless child. Others, even to this day, have been accustomed to advertise that it was possible to "save a child" at an average cost of $50 per head.

Gradually the responsibility of this work has been perceived, and it has come to be recognized that when we put ourselves in the place of Providence and undertake to assume the responsibility for the whole future of the child, we assume a most sacred obligation. We are to determine who shall stand to him in the place of parents; who shall be his father and his mother; what shall be his environment; what shall be his religious training, his intellectual training, his industrial training; what shall be his opening and opportunity in life.

The heedlessness with which many people have met this grave responsibility is amazing. A public officer recently had his attention called to a boy whom he had placed in a very improper home. He said, "I am sorry to hear that he is not doing well. I will attend to the matter. I placed him there on general principles." There is a home for foundlings in one of the central states, where infants are faithfully and beautifully cared for under the direction of a competent resident physician. The managers are reputable and well intentioned people; yet it is their practice to give infants to women who come and apply for them on no other credentials than such letters as they may have obtained from their friends, without subsequent visitation or watch-care.

Many baby farms have been accustomed to receive and dispose of infants for a fee of $25. A woman who lived in an inside flat, opening only upon a court, herself entirely unfit to have the care of a

child, upon being asked where she got the child said, "I saw an advertisement in the paper, 'Baby for adoption,' so I went and got it." The question was asked, "Did they come to visit your home?" "Oh, no," was the reply. "Did they ask you any questions?" "Oh, no! They said, 'There is the baby. If you want it you can have it.'" Another woman, equally unfit for the care of a young child, on being asked how she obtained the child, replied, "I gave 25 cents and a canary bird for it."

The legislature of the state of South Dakota passed an act forbidding the placing of children by societies from other states, except on the giving of a bond of $2000 in each case. This legislation was prompted by the fact that boys were brought into the state and placed in the families of Russian Jews,—ignorant, poverty-stricken people, who lived in sod houses with dirt floors, where the children were deprived not only of the luxuries but of the comforts and decencies of life.

With the passage of years, and the development of the public conscience, a gradual change has come about, and the standards are constantly being raised.

THE ILLINOIS CHILDREN'S HOME AND AID SOCIETY

As an example of the modern methods of selecting homes, take the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society. In former years the society received applications either by letter or by personal call of the applicant. In recent years, applications are received on the blank form shown on page 230.

Many applications are rejected on their face. They show that the applicant is ignorant or selfish or that he lives in a bad neighborhood, or that he has not sufficient financial ability, or that the proper moral influences would be lacking. For illustration, one applicant desired a boy "to weigh not less than 112 pounds." Hundreds of applicants desire to get a girl, in order "to give her a good home." They would like "a girl from 12 to 14 years of age: a good girl, truthful, reliable, in good health and with a willing disposition." Other hundreds desire a little girl from two to five years of age, "with blue eyes and curly hair and a sweet disposition." There are at least four such applications for every one that can be filled, and the society must necessarily reject a large share of the applicants.

The Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society has local advisory boards in most of the prominent towns and cities of the state. In

Application for a Child

This application must be filled out with ink, signed by both husband and wife and sent to the Society either by mail or through the agent instrumental in securing the application, and a copy of the blank should be kept by the applicant

Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society

R. J. BENNETT, *President*
REV. E. M. WILLIAMS, D.D., *Secretary*
H. A. RUMSEY, *Treasurer*

HENRY W. THURSTON, *State Superintendent*
MRS. LAURA J. DONALDSON, *Asst. Superintendent*

601 UNITY BLDG., 79 DEARBORN STREET, CHICAGO, ILL.

(DATE) .....19....

The undersigned make application to the ILLINOIS CHILDREN'S HOME AND AID SOCIETY for a child to be placed in our family upon the following conditions:

1. The child is to be taken on sixty (60) days' trial.
2. The guardianship and legal control of the child is to remain in the Society, unless we shall adopt it legally, with the consent of the Society.
3. We will furnish the child comfortable and sufficient clothing, care and medical attendance; **will send it regularly to day school, Sunday school and religious services;** will provide faithfully for its well being, physical, mental and moral; and will treat it in all respects as if it were our own.
4. We will report to the Society on blanks furnished by it when requested to do so.
5. We will not remove the child permanently beyond the boundaries of Illinois nor give it over to the custody of any person without the written consent of the Society, and we **will notify the Society promptly** of any change of our address.
6. We will not commence proceedings of any kind, in any court, with respect to the child without the written consent of the Society; and should any person commence proceedings we will immediately notify the Society thereof.
7. Our object in taking a child is.....
8. We desire a child about .....years of age. (State whether boy or girl)
.....
9. The members of our family are: (State age and sex).....
.....

Our ages are: (**Husband**)..... (**Wife**).....
We attend regularly the.....Church Pastor.....
Address .....
We are distant from church.....We are distant from school.....
Our occupation is .....
Our nearest railroad station is.....on the.....R. R.
Distance .....Direction .....
Post Office.....County .....
Street.....No.....State .....

(Signed)

.....Husband
.....Wife

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Are you Sabbath keeping people? Do you attend church regularly?.....
Do you keep a hired man?..... If so, how many months in the year?.....
Do you keep a hired girl?..... Do you take boarders, temporary or permanent?
.....
Are there invalids or aged persons in your family?.....
Are you willing to pay the expense of sending the child to your home (fare of one person both ways)?.....
Do you own your home or other property? If so, please state kind and value.....
.....
Please give names of three persons who know you and to whom inquiries should be addressed:
.....

former years it was customary when application was received to send to the local advisory board of the nearest town a blank letter which read as follows:

"———— Illinois, 189–.

"We, the undersigned citizens of the ———— Local Advisory Board of the ILLINOIS CHILDREN'S HOME SOCIETY, recommend ———————— as suitable persons to have the custody, training and education of a beneficiary of the Association.

"We further say that they are kindhearted and humane and are mentally, morally and financially competent, and are in financial circumstances and socially situated to give a child good advantages and suitable companionships. We know them to be church going and Sabbath observing people and believe they will take an interest in educational advantages.

"(Signed) _____ (Signed) _____

_____ _____"

The local advisory board was expected to make suitable inquiry, and then to make return in the preceding form.

It will be observed that this reply from the local advisory board conveyed absolutely no information except what was contained in the printed form which was submitted for their signatures. The advisory board usually contained five or more members. The president of the board was probably a leading clergyman, banker or merchant. The secretary was some prominent woman in the community. If those two people signed the form, the rest of the committee were almost sure to sign it. They might write a private letter requesting that their signature be disregarded, but they would sign. Such a testimonial was worse than useless, because it served as an excuse for a proper recommendation; yet thousands of children were placed in homes on such recommendations.

In recent years more thorough methods have been adopted. If the application is favorably regarded, recommendation blanks are sent either to the members of the nearest advisory board, or to other individuals in the community, preferably not those whose names are furnished by the applicant. It goes without saying that if the applicant has an unsatisfactory record, he will avoid giving the names of people who know that record. He is most likely to give his pastor, his banker, his grocer or his brother-in-law.

This blank, instead of being sent to the committee as a whole, is sent to each member of the committee separately, with a return envelope and a notice that the reply will be treated as confidential.

This form asks specific questions and calls for a declaration of personal opinion. It was a great improvement upon the old form, but experience proved that it was entirely unsafe to trust even to this form of written recommendation. Often the society would receive three replies recommending the home without reserve, and would then receive a fourth which would prove conclusively that the home was unfit, because the husband was secretly intemperate or immoral, or the wife was a scold, or there were other members of the family whose influence would be unfavorable, or the family was incapable of making suitable provision for the child, etc. If any one of the replies is unfavorable, the application is usually rejected, though sometimes a reply may be so suggestive of prejudice as to justify further inquiry before rejection.

The truth is that while the recommendations of the neighbors are often helpful and sometimes conclusive, they cannot be relied upon; first, because people often lack knowledge in regard to their neighbors, and second, because even conscientious people are reluctant to say anything detrimental about their neighbors, especially if it is rumor or suspicion, and they will therefore make as favorable returns as they conscientiously can, and will give the applicant the benefit of the doubt.

The following is the form of recommendation now used by the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society:

RECOMMENDATION BLANK (LETTER)

THE ILLINOIS

CHILDREN'S HOME AND AID SOCIETY

Chicago,————————

Dear Friend:—

Mr. and Mrs. .....
have applied to this Society for a

We desire to learn something of the social, moral and financial standing of this family. To that end I send the within recommendation blank, which please fill out, sign and return to this office.

Please pay particular attention to "remarks" as I wish to know something in regard to the spirit of the home. Your communication will be regarded as strictly confidential; and if you so request will be returned to you.

Thanking you in advance for the favor, I am,

Yours respectfully,

Asst. Supt.

RECOMMENDATION BLANK (REPLY)

ILLINOIS CHILDREN'S HOME AND AID SOCIETY,

79 Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIRS:—

In reply to your letter of inquiry concerning.....
of
I would state that I have personally known them .....years. They are aged about .....
Their family consists of (husband, wife).....Sons (ages).....
Daughters (ages).....and.....

* The habits of their children (if any) are.....

* Their standing in the community as to honesty, morality, and trustworthiness is .....

In education and intelligence they are.....

He is a member of.....Church.

(or) He is a regular attendant of.....Church.

Does he use liquor?.....

His occupation is.....

She is a member of.....Church.

(or) She is a regular attendant of.....Church.

Their habits as to Sabbath observance and Church attendance are.....

They are distant from Church.....miles; from day school .....miles; from railroad station.....miles.

Their property is worth at least $.....and the home they occupy as to comfort and convenience is.....

* As to their fitness for the responsibility of training a child, I would say.....
....

Signed.....

.....

Date.....19.....

* Please give special attention to this question.

If the written recommendations are considered satisfactory, the society next sends its own paid agent to make a personal visit and examination. This agent is furnished with the following blank form:

Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society

Report of Homes Investigated

Name of Applicant and Wife .....

Street and Number, or County.....P. O.....

Husband's age.....Nationality.....Occupation.....

Salary, if any, $.....What education has he?.....Is he intelligent?.....

Does he speak English?.....Is he trustworthy?.....Is he frugal?.....

Has he a good moral character?.....

Is he industrious?.....Is he kind and gentlemanly in his family?.....

.....Is he kind to his stock?.....Is he just and considerate to his employees? .....

Is he of a kind and happy disposition?.....

Is he generous and liberal minded?.....Does he control his temper?.....Is he a member of any church?.....

If so, What church?.....Does he attend regularly and does he take an active part in the church work?.....

Has he been previously married, if so, did his first wife or wives die?.....

.....

Was he ever divorced, if so, when, where and by whom was the divorce procured, by himself or his wife?.....

Does he use intoxicating liquors, if so, to what extent?.....

.....Does he use profane or vile language?.....

.....Is he neat in his personal appearance?.....

Does he pay his bills promptly?.....Is he and has he been prosperous in his business?.....

How many children have been born to the family?.....How many are living?.....How many are living at home?.....Do you consider that he will be a good foster parent and will a child under his influence be likely to become a good citizen?.....

Wife's age.....Nationality.....What education has she? .....

Is she a woman of good moral character?.....

Is she intelligent?.....Does she speak English?
.....What is her disposition?.....Is she inclined to be fault-finding?.....Does she control her temper?.....
Is she neat and orderly?.....
Is she too neat and orderly for the comfort of her child?.....
Does she seem to be painstaking in her work?.....If she is the support of the family, what is her occupation?.....
Income, $.....Has she property in her own right?.....
Is she a member of any church, if so, what church?.....
Does she attend with reasonable regularity and take any active part in the church work?.....Do she and her husband live happily together?.....Is this her first husband?.....
Was she ever divorced, if so, when, where, and by whom was the divorce procured, by herself or her husband?.....
.....
Do you consider that she will be a good foster parent?.....
What reputation does the family bear in the neighborhood?.....
THE HOME—Do they own the home, or other property?.....If so value, $.....
Is it mortgaged?.....If so, amount, $.....No. of acres in farm or premises?.....No. of rooms in house?.....
Condition of the house as to:—Cleanliness?.....Order?.....Comfort? .....
Appearance of house, barn, yard, etc.....
.....
Where would the child sleep?.....
What newspapers taken?.....
Character of books?.....Pictures, etc.....
Give general impressions and recommendations.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Signed.....
.....
District Superintendent.

Date of Investigation.....190....

The agent is instructed that this blank is not intended to be shown to the applicant, nor is it intended that the agent shall lay it down upon the table, ask the questions and write answers; but it is intended to serve as a guide to the agent in making his inquiries, and to be filled out after the investigation has been made. The agent is instructed somewhat as follows:

"In making this investigation you are to bear in mind that the entire future happiness and prosperity of the child may depend upon the faithfulness with which you discharge this duty. The ultimate standard is this: Suppose that it was your own child, of like development and capabilities, who was to be placed in a family home: would you be willing that he should be placed in this home? This does not mean that the home is to be perfect and entirely above criticism. You must bear in mind that there are first class, second class and third class children, and there are first class, second class and third class homes. If a child is dull, stupid, untrained, or a bed-wetter, you cannot expect to secure as good a home as you could secure for a bright, attractive, well-trained child, and it is true that many humble homes of uncultivated people are permeated by a loving and faithful spirit, and will give conscientious care even to an undesirable child."

The agent is further instructed as to the method of the investigation: "Suppose that you are to visit the home of a farmer. You will perhaps employ a liveryman to drive you to the farm. On the way you will fall into conversation with the liveryman, who is likely to be communicative. He has purchased oats of the farmer, or has had a horse trade with him. He knows whether the farmer's team stands in front of a saloon until 11 or 12 o'clock two or three nights in a week. He knows his general business reputation and standing.

"As you approach the farm, you will notice the condition of the fences; whether the land is well tilled; the appearance of the barns and other buildings; whether the farm machinery is carefully housed or is left lying exposed to the weather; whether the door-yard and farm yard are neatly kept, or whether they are strewed with rubbish, trash and broken vehicles. You will notice whether the buildings are neatly painted, whether the vegetable garden is well kept, whether there are any flowers and shrubbery.

"Arriving at the house you will knock at the front door. When the door is opened you may get a whiff from within which will condemn the home. Being received by the housewife you will seat yourself in her sitting room, and will encourage her to talk. It makes very little difference what is the subject of conversation, you will

be able to observe whether she has a loud or a gentle voice, whether her manner is refined or coarse, whether she uses good English, whether she is a gossip. You will gather her ideas as to family discipline, training of children, etc.

"While the housewife talks, you will observe the atmosphere of the house, the cleanliness of the windows, the rugs on the floor, the pictures on the wall. You will observe particularly the literature of the house. If you discover a 'Police Gazette' or a 'Day's Doings' anywhere in the house, you will reject the home. If you find trashy story papers, yellow-backed novels and detective stories, you will hesitate. If you find that no newspapers are taken except a farm journal and a weekly county paper, that will indicate a lack of intellectual life in the home. If on the other hand you find a good illustrated paper, or a religious paper, standard magazines, standard novels, history or travels, which bear signs of reading, that will go to the credit of the home. A large handsome bible with gilt clasps on a center table, displaying no signs of use, will count for little, but two or three well-worn teachers' bibles scattered in different parts of the house, will indicate both religious and intellectual activity.

"As you talk with the housewife, a child may come into the room—her own child or a foster child. Notice how he enters, whether with hesitation, expecting a rebuff, or with cheerful freedom. If he walks freely up to the foster mother, leans upon her shoulder and takes part in the conversation, you may conclude that there is a free and happy relation; at the same time, you may discover a lack of proper training and control.

"Having completed these observations, you will ask to see the house. The housewife will usually take you through without hesitation. You will notice the arrangement of the dining room and the selection of china. You will notice the sweeping in the house, not in the middle of the rooms, but behind the doors and in the corners. You will notice whether cobwebs are visible. Entering the kitchen, you will discover whether the housewife is neat and orderly; you will notice also whether she is *too neat and orderly* for the comfort and happiness of the child. You will observe particularly her range: if it is dirty, rusty and neglected you will discount her housekeeping.

"You will observe particularly the pantry; whether there are fresh papers on the shelves; how the food is put away; and you will note particularly the quality of the bread. You will ask to be shown where the child will sleep, and passing through the second story you will notice how the beds are made up, the appearance of

sheets and pillow cases, whether the rooms are ventilated; you will discover where the child will sleep, whether with some older child or with a hired girl or a hired man; whether there will be proper privacy and proper comfort.

"Having finished with the housewife, you will cultivate the acquaintance of the farmer. You will observe his language, manner and bearing. You will discover whether he is profane or vulgar. You will note whether he is neat about his person. You will ask him to show you his barn and his livestock. You will observe whether the stable is kept clean and orderly or whether it is in a filthy and neglected condition; you will watch him as he approaches a horse or a cow; if the animal cringes in the stall, you will never place a boy with him, for a man who is cruel to his dumb beasts will be cruel to a boy. You will ascertain the business standing of the farmer; whether he pays his debts promptly, whether he is straight in his dealings, etc.

"It may be necessary to make some inquiries in the neighborhood, but if such inquiries are made, they should be made with great care, caution and discrimination. You may go to the pastor of the family, state your purpose and ask for confidential information, and you will usually get it. In like manner you may go to a reliable banker or business man and after presenting your credentials you can usually obtain reliable information as to his business standing and reliability. But most of the necessary facts can be obtained by an experienced observer mainly through his own observations."

The object of this personal investigation by an experienced agent is not only to ascertain whether the home is a good home for a child, but whether it is a desirable home for the particular child that you have in mind. The fine art of the placing-out method is the proper adjustment of the child to the home. You may have a good home and a good child, and the two good things may not have any adaptation for each other. For example, take a rather dull and backward but strong and good-natured boy, with large bones, large hands and feet, a clumsy action; a boy who loves horses, cows and pigs and outdoor life. Place that boy in a village home, with the clergyman, the merchant or the physician, and he will be a complete failure. He will track mud into the house, break the furniture and spoil his clothes. He will make a poor school record, and will disappoint the hopes of his benefactors. Put that same boy on a farm, where he will go to school five or six months in the year, and he will make as much progress as he is capable of. Turn him loose on the farm, with

people whose tastes run in his own line. He will be a complete success, and will grow up to be a useful citizen.

On the other hand, take a boy of good parentage, with natural refinement, good features, small bones, small hands and feet; put that boy on a farm, where he will have to get up at five o'clock in the morning, milk five or six cows, attend a district school, with meager opportunity, and where he will be associated with people who lack refinement; and one of two things will happen: the boy will either deteriorate and go backward, or he will become discouraged and become a complete failure. The farmer will return him on the ground that he is lazy, saucy and above his business. Place that same boy in the village home and he will be a complete success.

This method of selecting homes requires a large expenditure of time, travel and thought. It requires intelligent agents, capable of discrimination and able to command a good salary; but it is absolutely indispensable in order to justify the family home method of caring for neglected children.

CHAPTER XVI

SUPERVISION OF CHILDREN IN FAMILY HOMES

WHEN a child has been successfully placed in a well selected home, the duty of the placing-out agency has only begun. The fact that the society has taken the child from his own home, or from the fostering care of an institution, involves an extra obligation to maintain faithful watch-care. It is only fair to say that the great majority of the placing-out agencies have been delinquent in this respect. Supervision costs money, and it makes no visible show. Most of these societies have an insufficient income and there is a constant temptation to receive and place out more children than can be adequately watched over, and to postpone supervision, under the pressure of inadequate financial support. Correspondence with several hundred placing-out agencies has revealed the fact that not one-fifth of the orphan asylums and children's homes maintain an adequate supervision over the children that they have placed in families, and not half of the child-helping societies maintain an adequate supervision.

At the White House Conference, which was held on call of President Roosevelt, at Washington, in January, 1909, a series of resolutions, including about 3000 words, was unanimously adopted, with the change of but a single word. The third resolution of the series read as follows:

"As to the children who for sufficient reasons must be removed from their own homes, or who have no homes, it is desirable that, if normal in mind and body and not requiring special training, they should be cared for in families whenever practicable. The carefully selected foster home is for the normal child the best substitute for the natural home. Such homes should be selected by a most careful investigation and with due regard to the religious faith of the child. After children are placed in homes, frequent visitation, with careful consideration of the physical, mental, moral and spiritual training and development of each child on the part of the responsible home-finding agency is essential."

When this paragraph was under consideration, Mr. M. V. Crouse, superintendent of the Cincinnati Children's Home, a veteran in the work of child-placing, said:

"I favor the report of the committee most heartily throughout, with the exception of one single word. In speaking of the frequent visitation of children placed out, it says that in some cases it would be greatly to the advantage of the child in the family to be frequently visited. I suggest to the committee 'adequate visitation.'"

This amendment is not so insignificant as might appear. There is an essential difference between "frequent visitation" and "adequate visitation." Some children should be visited frequently; for example, a young girl, placed on wages, at the age of fifteen or sixteen, should be visited every few weeks until it is clearly seen that she is well established; a boy placed with a farmer, where there is suspicion of a disposition to overwork him, should be visited without announcement every few months until it is certain that he is not made to work beyond his strength, and is not deprived of school privileges in order to serve the interests of the farmer. On the other hand, when an infant or little child of two or three years has been located in a home where it is manifestly loved and cared for like an own child, it is often desirable to let the child alone in order that the affection of the foster parents may become cemented and the child may become rooted in its foster home. In such a case the child may be safely left unvisited for a year at a time, provided the home has been sufficiently studied at the outset.

It is usually desirable that the child shall be supervised by the same agent who made the original placement, for the reason that the personal acquaintance of the agent with the child and the foster parents adds greatly to his usefulness. It is very difficult for an agent who has no personal acquaintance either with the foster parents or the child, to get at the underlying facts—especially when the foster parents fail to meet their obligation. The child will often conceal the facts, either from shyness or timidity, and frequently three or four visits of the same agent will be necessary before confidential relations can be established; and, on the other hand, the influence of the agent with the foster parents is greatly increased if the agent is personally acquainted with their peculiarities. Some societies adopt the plan of having their children visited by different agents, in order that one agent may exercise a check upon the fidelity or the wisdom of the other; but this very idea suggests a doubt as to

the care with which the society selects its agents. Competent and faithful agents should be secured.

The necessary check upon the faithfulness both of the society and its agents can be best exercised by a competent public agency, whose duty it is to verify the work of all the placing-out agencies in the state and to become assured of the fidelity with which the work is done. Some have feared that such agencies would interfere with the confidential nature of the work, and would make trouble by the inconsiderate action of indiscreet agents, but experience in Indiana, Illinois and New Jersey has proved that this is not true. With a proper method of selecting agents, and with legal provision protecting the privacy of their records, this difficulty proves to be imaginary rather than real.

SUPERVISION OF PLACED-OUT CHILDREN

The general observations which have been made with reference to the selection of homes for children apply also to the visitation of children in homes. The information sought has to be obtained not by direct question, but still less by detective work and inquisitorial examination.

The agent goes into the family not as a spy, but as a friend. He is to assume that the foster parents are trying to do right and that his office is to assist them in their efforts to discharge the obligation which they have assumed. At the same time the agent is to bear in mind that he represents also the interests of the child; that he is the representative of the society which is the child's responsible guardian; that the child is helpless and is absolutely dependent upon his fidelity. It is the duty of the agent, therefore, to be sure that he is not deceived as to the actual condition and welfare of the child. His visit must be long enough and his inquiry must be thorough enough to insure his accurate information as to the facts.

Too often the visitation is perfunctory, the knowledge obtained is superficial, and no assurance is had as to the treatment of the child. When a board of three directors of the poor start out in an automobile for their annual visitation of twenty county wards placed in homes, their visitation is likely to be a farce. The automobile drives to the door of the farm house. The visitors file into the parlor, where they are entertained by the nervous housewife while the boy is getting ready for inspection. Finally he comes in! his dripping

hair plastered down on his forehead; his hands protruding from his outgrown jacket with rings of dirt visible on his wrists unreached by the hasty wash; he sits on the edge of a chair and answers the questions of the chairman in the presence of the housewife: "Are these folks good to you? Do you have enough to eat? Do you have to work too hard? Do you like your place?" To these questions the boy gives the expected answers, with occasional furtive glances at the foster mother to be sure that he is answering properly. There is not the slightest assurance that his answers are correct. The visitors are strangers to him, and if he is ill-used he is afraid to testify to the fact, feeling that his complaints would be discredited.

The proper plan is for the visitor, arriving alone, to have a heart-to-heart talk with the foster mother and if possible with the foster father. Having seen them before, the visitor is on a familiar and friendly footing and a free conversation brings out the attitude and feeling of the foster parent toward the child. If practicable, the visitor, who has arrived unannounced, takes a meal with the family, because the status of the child, the atmosphere of the household and the character of the family are more easily discoverable at meal time than at any other time.

The visitor does not formally request a private interview with the child, but if the child is more than four years old such an interview should always be procured. The visitor says, "Charlie, have you a dog?" or "have you a calf?" and the boy is requested to exhibit his pet; or the girl is asked to show the visitor her room. A colloquy will ensue something like the following: "Well, Charlie, how are you making it?" "Oh, pretty well." "How do you get on at school?" "All right. I had to lick a feller when I first came, but I am getting along all right now." "Well, what do you do for fun?" "I play ball Saturday afternoon or I go to town sometimes with Mr. Brown"; or "I do not have any fun. He don't want me to play with any boys." "Who is your best friend—which of the boys do you like best?" "I like Jim Smith, but they won't let him come here to see me nor they won't let me go to his house." "What kind of work do you like best?" "I don't know—not any kind, I guess." "Can you plough?" "No, he says I am not big enough, but I can drive a harrow." "Can you milk?" "Yes, I can milk two cows. By and by I will be old enough to milk five, but he makes a feller milk awful clean."

The visitor will discover whether the boy has any pets, whether he has any spending money, whether he has a Sunday suit, whether

he is guarded as to his associations, what kind of a sleeping room he has, etc.

It is often difficult to determine whether too much is required of a child or not. As a rule, those who take children from eleven or twelve years old and upward have in mind the service which they can obtain. It is only right that a child should render such reasonable assistance as would be required of a child in its own home, but it is altogether wrong that the child should be over-taxed, deprived of sleep, deprived of school privileges or deprived of reasonable recreation, for the advantage of foster parents who become task masters. Only vigilant and faithful supervision can guard against the liability of such misuse. When a boy of twelve or thirteen is found with calloused hands and bent shoulders, dull, stolid, cowed, the suspicion of the visitor will be aroused and he will consider whether the child ought to remain in the home, even though no positive evidence of mistreatment can be discovered.

A boy of nine was placed in the family of a farmer, who lived on a rented farm and struggled with debt. The farmer and his wife worked early and late and they required the same from the boy. When they went visiting they left him at home locked out of the house and wandering miserably about the place until their return. The boy when visited was walking about with feet so swollen that his toes did not touch the ground. The farmer had required this nine-year-old boy to load barley on a wagon in his bare feet. The spears of the barley had pierced his feet and they had become infected. The farmer's wife had furnished the boy with some salve, but had done nothing further to assuage his misery, and the little fellow was unable to take proper care of his own feet. Happily the good people of the neighborhood took a friendly interest in the poor lad and brought his condition promptly to the attention of the agents who had placed him in the home.

The visitor will ascertain the facts with reference to a girl in a similar way. "What kind of work do you like best? Can you wash? Can you iron?" "No, I cannot wash; she says I am not strong enough, but she lets me iron handkerchiefs and towels." "Can you get breakfast all yourself?" "Oh, yes, I get up the first one in the morning, and have breakfast all ready when the rest of them come down. Then I have to hustle to get the dishes washed before I go to school."

The visitor will ascertain whether the child has a doll or a kitten or a canary, whether she has any pretty dresses, whether she

received any Christmas presents or valentines, whether she is allowed to visit other girls or receive visits from them.

A girl of fifteen, half blind, was placed with a farmer, who worked her in the field and treated her like a beast of burden. Two different visitors failed to discover the abuse and neglect to which this poor girl was subjected. When it finally came to light and she was removed, the question was asked, "Why did you not tell the visitors who came to see you how you were treated?" The poor ignorant girl replied, "Them folks give me 25 cents not to say nothing." She was so cowed that she dared not confide her miseries to a stranger. This poor girl was scolded and abused because she did not sweep clean, and because she did not dust properly. Subsequently, when she was placed in the care of an oculist, it was discovered that she had only about one quarter of ordinary vision, and it was physically impossible for her to do thorough work.

If the child goes to school, and the school is in session, the visitor will invariably visit the school and call on the teacher, and will inform her confidentially of his interest in the child. The teacher will usually give confidential information. She knows whether the child is clean and comfortably clad; what kind of luncheon he brings to school; what are his manners; what sort of home training he exhibits; whether he carries the marks of blows; whether he appears to be happy or depressed.

The visitor will be extremely careful about making inquiries among the neighbors. Injurious gossip is often started by unfriendly neighbors, and while such reports should be carefully investigated, they should always be received with a grain of salt. Sometimes they arise from personal hostility unconnected with the child. Sometimes they come from people who desire to get the child for themselves. Sometimes false reports of ill-treatment or cruelty become so widespread that it may be necessary to remove the child, notwithstanding their falsity; but every effort should be made to protect the good name of the foster parents who are falsely accused.

The visitor's mission reaches the foster parents as well as the child. As a rule, foster parents are inclined to expect too much of a child. They expect from an untrained waif a degree of efficiency, faithfulness, truth and honesty which they would not think of expecting from an own child. A child will be returned because he told a lie, or because he stole cookies from the jar, or because he was impudent, or because he did not get up promptly in the morning when called. The wise visitor will counsel with the foster parents and ad-

vise them as to the degree of patience and wisdom required to deal with such a child. He will enlist their sympathy in the child's friendless and unfortunate condition, and will stimulate their patience when they are ready to give up in despair. It is exceedingly important that there should be a sufficient visiting force to meet emergency calls promptly. Often foster parents will write, demanding the immediate removal of a child, when by prompt interposition of a wise visitor the difficulty can be overcome and the home saved to the child.

The experienced visitor will hesitate to remove a child from a home, even though the conditions may not be entirely satisfactory, if he appears to be doing reasonably well, for the reason that frequent changes are most demoralizing and discouraging to a child. It is a misfortune for a child to be passed from hand to hand, and to get the idea that he is considered incorrigible. The next step is likely to be the reform school. It is not wise to become easily discouraged, even about the difficult child. Mary was for many years in the New York Juvenile Asylum, where she was regarded as a very difficult subject. She was finally placed in a family home in Iowa. There she passed from one home to another, leaving behind her a succession of indignant foster mothers. After she had been in seven different homes, she was transferred to the care of the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, which again placed her in a succession of homes. The girl had considerable capability, but she had a violent temper, which at times was perfectly ungovernable. One of her favorite amusements was to howl in an unearthly manner for an hour at a time without intermission, impervious to every influence. She was placed in the care of an excellent woman, who finally wound up by horsewhipping and gagging her, and then returned her to the society in despair.

The superintendent determined to send her to a reformatory, but before doing so, as a last resort, took her to his own home, where his wife took Mary and made a study of her. She believed that there might be a physical cause for her condition. She took her to a skilful physician, who discovered that the girl was in need of treatment, which she promptly received. By patient handling she was enabled to overcome her vicious temper. After several months she was placed in the family home of a physician, who gave her the necessary care. She still had occasional ebullitions, but they were less frequent and less violent than before.

When Mary approached the age of eighteen, at which, under the

laws of Illinois, she would be of age, she requested the privilege of finding a boarding place and employment for herself. "What kind of work do you want to do, Mary?" was the question. "I want to work in a restaurant." "Where do you want to board?" "I want to get a room in the family of Mr. Brown, who used to be a minister." Investigation showed that the home of the Browns was a suitable place for the girl, except that they had also another girl, whose influence upon Mary had been unfortunate. It was reflected, however, that Mary would be of age in a short time, and that it might be better to allow her to choose for herself than to lose all influence over her. Therefore consent was reluctantly given. Fortunately, Mary promptly quarrelled with the other girl and held no subsequent intercourse with her. She found the work of the restaurant exacting, and that she could not hold her place and at the same time indulge her reckless temper. She soon restrained herself more effectually than any of her foster parents had been able to do. When she got into difficulty she came back and sought the advice of the society. After a thorough trial, she discovered the hardness and dangers of restaurant life and voluntarily obtained employment as a child's nurse. She has now been in one place for two years, where she earns good wages, puts money in the savings bank, dresses neatly and modestly, and conducts herself in a commendable way. This girl was saved to good womanhood by patience and faithful supervision.

QUALIFICATION OF AGENTS

In common with other social agencies, the child-helping societies and institutions are recognizing the necessity for securing agents of a high degree both of character and ability. Only a few years ago it was commonly felt that anyone would do for superintendent of a children's institution or a child-helping society. Superintendents of child-helping societies and juvenile reformatories were selected because of their valuable services as party politicians. A superannuated clergyman, a wornout schoolmaster, an unsuccessful business man, or any good woman with charitable impulses was just the person for such a position. The salaries offered corresponded to the low estimate in which the position was held. Of late, all this has been changed. It is now recognized that this work is so responsible as to demand not only people of high character and ability, but people of special training. Within the past twelve years there have sprung up the New York

School of Philanthropy, the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, the Boston School for Social Workers, the St. Louis School of Philanthropy, the Philadelphia School for Children's Workers, besides summer schools and children's institutes in Maine, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois. In the past it has been customary to seek superintendents for such positions in the communities where they are located, but the custom is spreading of seeking for the best people, wherever they may be found, and offering such compensation as will attract competent help.

The same principle is prevailing with reference to the selection of subordinate employes. It is recognized that the employes of an institution for children should not belong to the farm-hand and servant-girl class, but should be people of intelligence and high character; people who speak good English, and whose example and personal influence will be up-lifting and refining. It is recognized that the agents and visitors of child-helping societies should be people capable of discriminating observation, and people of such experience and tact as to be able to meet wisely the emergencies which constantly arise in the discharge of their responsible and delicate duties.

PART SIX

THE JUVENILE COURT

CHAPTER XVII

THE JUVENILE COURT AS A NON-CRIMINAL INSTITUTION

WE are to consider one of the most remarkable and interesting developments in the field of jurisprudence in recent years.

The juvenile court is an evolution. It is not, as some have seemed to think, an invention of some one of the wise men who have been mentioned as "the father of the juvenile court," but it is the resultant of a variety of forces which have been operating in the field of jurisprudence for at least seventy-five years.

The writer has some personal knowledge of the facts, having had the honor to serve as secretary of the committee which framed the original juvenile court law in Illinois in 1898; and having himself made the original draft of the juvenile court law which served as a basis for the work of Honorable Harvey B. Hurd, who re-wrote the act from beginning to end and is justly entitled to the honor of the title, "father of the juvenile court." The fact that the juvenile court is an evolution appears in several different ways:

First, in the genesis of the juvenile court. The state of Illinois had long been lamentably deficient in legislation for the protection of dependent and delinquent children. Any three persons in the state could take out articles of incorporation for an orphan asylum or a child-helping society and could proceed to "save" such children as they might lay their hands upon, without interference from any quarter. Illinois was one of the few states of the Union which sent little boys of tender years to prison for confinement with adult criminals.

These disgraceful conditions were recognized by many good people and a spontaneous movement arose from several different directions. The women's clubs of the state began to agitate it, through individual clubs and through the state federation of women's clubs. Representatives of the child-helping societies took the matter up and urged legislation. The bar association of Cook County and the State Bar Association discussed the subject and appointed committees. The press was urgent for a reformation. Finally, the Illinois State Conference of Charities and Correction devoted an entire session of two days to the discussion of needed legislation for children.

At that meeting a committee was appointed to co-ordinate the work of these different bodies and to formulate suitable legislation.

This committee brought together a representative body of people. Its chairman was a jurist of long experience in formulating and passing upon legislation. The committee included a woman who was a close and intelligent student of child-helping work and legislation; a representative Catholic lawyer, who knew the temper and the needs of the Catholic institutions of the state; representatives of the non-Catholic child-helping agencies, and a layman who, though not previously identified with children's work, had made a study of legislation affecting children and brought to the committee a valuable accumulation of literature and correspondence which was of great service. This committee labored with single purpose to formulate such legislation as should be for the best interests of the children of the state. The disposition and purpose of the committee are best indicated in the 21st section of the act which declares the purpose of the law and is a remarkable declaration for any statute, particularly for one drawn by a man saturated in the phraseology of the law books, from ancient times down. Section 21 reads as follows:

"This Act shall be liberally construed, to the end that its purpose may be carried out, to wit: That the care, custody and discipline of a child shall approximate as nearly as may be that which should be given by its parents, and in all cases where it can properly be done the child be placed in an approved family home and become a member of the family by legal adoption or otherwise."

Second, in the extension of the juvenile court. Although this new institution was an innovation upon previous methods and involved some radical departures in dealing with dependent and delinquent children, it met a want which was widely felt throughout the country, and in the short space of ten years we have juvenile court laws in twenty-two states, most of them following pretty closely the original lines of the Illinois legislation. Seldom in the history of jurisprudence has legislation of so great importance and so much novelty had so rapid a development.

GOVERNING PRINCIPLES OF THE JUVENILE COURT

The juvenile court rests upon two great principles:

First, the value of the child. It recognizes the value of the child for his own sake and his value for the sake of the community. A child is valuable for his own sake. Even in the days of slavery, a

likely pickaninny was worth $25 or $50 or $100, according to his "likeliness." Every healthy, normal child has possibilities of development into strong and beautiful maturity if given a fair opportunity. That opportunity belongs of right to every child, and the juvenile court represents the effort of the community to secure that right for those children who are deprived of proper parental care. The child has also a value to the community, which can be preserved only by securing for him a safe and improving environment. Protected, he will become a contributor to the wealth, prosperity, morality and good government of the state; neglected, he will become a burden upon his fellowmen, a destroyer instead of producer, an enemy to society. An enlightened self-interest therefore unites with altruism in the juvenile court.

Second, the abandonment of the idea of retributive punishment. The juvenile court is based on the truth that it is no part of the duty of the state to undertake to administer to a child a punishment which shall be proportioned to the supposed magnitude of his offense. This idea has long been worked out in the administration of the best juvenile reformatories, but in many states the punitive idea has prevailed in the courts, and we have seen children sentenced to institutions for thirty or sixty or ninety days or a year, according to their supposed ill-desert. The juvenile court law refuses to recognize a child under sixteen as a criminal, but only as a delinquent, and "delinquency" does not necessarily imply criminality. A child may be delinquent because he is incorrigible or because he knowingly associates with thieves or vicious persons or because he frequents a place where gambling is carried on, none of which conditions necessarily involves criminality.

The juvenile court inflicts no penalties upon children. A child may be committed to the care of a juvenile reformatory, but in that case he is committed not for punishment but for training in order to fit him for restoration at the earliest possible moment to his normal place in the family home.

It is peculiarly fitting that this subject should be discussed in the International Prison Congress, because this idea, in its application both to children and to adults, has found recognition in this body and has been inculcated for the past forty years or more by its leading thinkers, such men as Dr. E. C. Wines, the founder of the Prison Congress, President Rutherford B. Hayes, Z. R. Brockway, Frank B. Sanborn, General Roeliff Brinckerhoff, Charlton T. Lewis, Samuel J. Barrows, and Frederick Howard Wines. In the cen-

sus of 1890, Dr. F. H. Wines conducted an investigation into the comparative length of sentences of criminals in different courts and in different states. This investigation demonstrates the impossibility, under human limitations, of adjusting penalties, even to the apparent ill-desert of the offender. There was evident a hopeless disparity between the sentences inflicted under like conditions. But when we consider the differences of heredity, environment, opportunity and temptation, we realize that only the Omniscient One can measure the actual desert of any human soul.

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE JUVENILE COURT

In many of its features the juvenile court law embodies principles which have long been applied in legislation in behalf of children in different states. In other features the juvenile court represents a marked departure from both the letter and the practice of legislation even in very recent times. The notable features of the juvenile court law are the following:

First, the scope of the juvenile court. In most of the states where juvenile court laws are found on the statute books, the law covers both dependents (including "neglected children") and delinquents. (In the state of New York the children's court deals only with delinquents.) This practice is proper because no hard and fast line divides the dependent children from delinquent children. Most delinquent children are also dependent, and children brought into court as dependents sometimes need to be dealt with as delinquent. The court is able to carry on a sifting process which would be difficult if the two classes of children were dealt with in different courts.

Second, the character of the judiciary. Instead of the police courts and the justice courts, we have the care of children vested in probate courts, circuit courts, and district courts. In Chicago, the judge of the juvenile court is a jurist of the highest standing, receiving a salary of $10,000 a year. It is recognized that no man is too eminent or too wise to deal with children's cases. When the juvenile court was first established it was ridiculed as the "kindergarten court" and eminent judges objected to being called upon to turn aside from the important concerns of corporations and other vast money interests in order to hear petty cases relating to little children; but a brief experience on the bench of the juvenile court almost invariably resulted in a change of heart and a recognition of the juvenile court as second to none in the importance of the interests involved.

Third, the character of the probation officers. At the foundation of the juvenile court stands the probation officer, who is a "discreet person of good character," whose duty it is "to investigate as may be required by the court; to be present in court in order to represent the interests of the child, to furnish information and assistance, as the judge may require, and to take such charge of any child before and after trial as may be directed by the court." The probation officer is still in process of development. At first it was thought that any volunteer would answer as a probation officer; but gradually it has come to be recognized that probation officers should be selected with the utmost care, and civil service laws are now being applied to their selection, with wise and discriminating examinations. It is seen that the probation officer holds the key to the situation and that the court will generally be successful according to the character and ability of the judge and the wisdom and fitness of the probation officers.

Fourth, the recognition of the family home as the best possible institution for the care of dependent, neglected and delinquent children, in the majority of cases. This implies the use of the child's own home, whenever practicable, and involves the faithful and assiduous work of the probation officers to renovate unfit homes. When this cannot be done it involves the transfer of the child to some home other than his own, where he may enjoy the care and training which his parents are unable or unfit to give. The judge, after rebuking and exhorting the parents on their shortcomings as parents, often says: "I have appointed Mr. A. or Miss B. as probation officer in this case. The probation officer will visit you and I want it understood that when he comes to your home it is the same as if I myself came to your home. You are to listen to his advice and follow his directions. Your child must be kept in school, must be made to obey, must be kept from the streets at night, must be prevented from associating with lawless companions. If you neglect the child, he will be brought back into court by the probation officer and will be taken from you and sent to some institution."

It is interesting to see how the probation officer, distrusted and disliked at first, comes to be recognized as the best friend of the family, the one who is keeping the boy out of the reform school and who stands between the family and the law. It is interesting to see, also, the surprising improvement which takes place in many families under the influence of the probation officer, strengthened by the fear of having the child taken away from his home by the court.

When the child's own home cannot be utilized, the court is able to employ either the probation officer or some voluntary association to secure for the child another home, to take the place of his own.

Fifth, the supervision of child-helping institutions by the court. The law, in most states, gives the judge authority to make such investigation as he may deem necessary into the management and spirit of such institutions as offer to receive the children from the court, and to refuse to commit children to any institution which, in his judgment, does not maintain a proper standard of efficiency. Formerly, institutions were allowed to select their own wards, either by consent of parents or by taking possession of neglected or abandoned children without the consent of the parents. The juvenile court provides a competent and experienced authority to exercise a wise discretion in selecting that agency which can best discharge the delicate and responsible task of caring for such children and to discriminate against institutions which are in the hands of incompetent, irresponsible or unworthy people.

Sixth, dependent children and the juvenile court. Some people imagine that the work of the juvenile court is confined to delinquent children. In Chicago the juvenile court deals with about as many dependent children as delinquent children, and its work for dependent children is, if anything, more responsible and more important than that for delinquents, for the reason that the control of the delinquent child by the court is usually temporary, while its action for dependent children is calculated to determine their entire future, and in many cases to transfer their guardianship from their natural parents to foster parents. A little reflection will convince any one that the judge, occupying an impartial position, aided by the machinery of the law and by selected probation officers, can have a wider vision and can determine more wisely the future of the child than the policeman or the orphan asylum manager or the child-helping agent or perhaps the child's mother, who views the situation from a narrow standpoint.

Thus far, the juvenile court has jurisdiction only in such dependent cases as are voluntarily brought to it, but the time is not far distant when laws will be enacted requiring every transfer of the guardianship of a child to be passed upon by a court of competent jurisdiction, as adoptions are now passed upon by the court. If a child has an estate, however small, even though the child may have competent guardians, the probate court steps in and asserts the right

JUDGE STUBBS TALKING TO BOYS IN THE INDIANAPOLIS JUVENILE COURT

(By permission of *The Survey*)

to direct the expenditure of every penny of that estate in order to conserve the child's property rights. Why should irresponsible guardians have the liberty to dispose of the person of the child for all time which is not accorded them with reference to the property of the child?

The juvenile court has authority, first, to determine whether the child is dependent; second, to determine whether the child shall remain under the care of its parents, subject to the guardianship of the court and the friendly oversight of a probation officer; or, third, whether the unfit parent shall be compelled to meet the expense of providing for the child under some suitable agency; or, fourth, whether temporary provision shall be made for the child until parents who are in temporary trouble shall be able to resume the care, by the co-operation of an orphan asylum, an industrial school, or a child-helping society; or, fifth, whether the child shall be taken entirely from the guardianship of its parents and shall be placed under the permanent guardianship of some suitable institution, society or individual.

These decisions involve a large responsibility, which should not be left in incompetent hands.

Seventh, delinquent children and the juvenile court. The distinctive feature of the juvenile court in connection with delinquent children is the elimination of the idea of criminality. The spirit and the practice of the court are the farthest possible removed from that of the police court and the criminal court. This is seen in every step of the proceedings. There is no complaint or indictment, but a petition is filed, alleging, not that the child has committed a crime, but that he is "delinquent." There is not, ordinarily, a warrant, or an arrest, but a "summons" is issued to the parent or custodian of the child requiring him to produce the child in court at a certain time, and the child comes into court not in the hands of an officer of the law but in the company of his father or mother. The warrant is issued only when it is shown by a sworn statement that the summons will be ineffectual in securing the presence of the child.

The child is not taken into a police court or a justice court, but into the county court or the circuit court where there is an absence of the tainted environment which marks the police court. If the case is brought into a police court the law requires the magistrate to transfer it to the juvenile court. When the case comes to trial, there is no prosecutor present, but a probation officer is there "to represent the interests of the child." The effort is not to establish

the guilt of the child but to ascertain a condition. Is the child in the condition of delinquency? That condition does not necessarily involve any implication of crime. The child may be delinquent because he is incorrigible, unmanageable, or because he associates with vicious persons or because he frequents a gambling place.

When the trial is concluded, the child is not found guilty but is simply found "delinquent." There may or may not be a jury, but if there be a jury, that is their only finding. When the child is found delinquent, he is not sentenced to any punishment. He may be committed to the care of a suitable institution for training and education, or he may be committed to the care of a child-helping society which has been duly approved by a state board of public charities and by the court, or he may be committed to the care of some suitable individual; or the judge may do what is done in the majority of cases, namely, return the child to his own home, after suitable admonition from the court both to the child and to his parents, and there the child may remain, under the friendly oversight of a probation officer, as a ward of the court, subject to return for further proceedings whenever the probation officer may find it necessary.

It will be observed that these proceedings, from beginning to end, eliminate the idea of criminality.

THE LIMITATIONS OF THE JUVENILE COURT

Some good people seem to regard the juvenile court as a universal cure-all for the vices and the wrongdoing of juvenile humanity. They seem to imagine that the juvenile court can supersede the necessity for parental care, religious training, and reformatory institutions. Julian W. Mack, ex-judge of the juvenile court in Chicago, has sounded a pertinent note of warning at this point. It is the function of the juvenile court to enter into a painstaking inquiry in order to ascertain the best possible thing to be done for the particular child in hand, and then to place the child in the hands of the particular agency which appears to be on the whole the best adapted to accomplish that best thing.

It is not the function of the juvenile court to relieve parents of their proper obligations for their children, but rather, on the one hand, to help willing parents to meet their obligations by securing for them temporary assistance in one form or another; and, on the other hand, to hold unwilling parents to their natural obligations, as far as possible.

The juvenile court is not intended to do away with the juvenile reformatory for children but rather to determine when the time has come for the work of the juvenile reformatory to begin. The juvenile court through the probation system obviates the necessity in many cases of sending children to reformatories. But it is as much the part of wisdom to discover the circumstances which render the juvenile reformatory necessary in order to secure the reclamation of the child, as it is to discover when it is not necessary. It is as great an unkindness to postpone by repeated parole the sending of a child to a reformatory institution until the time has come when nothing can be done for him there, as it is to postpone sending a sick child to the hospital when he ought to go.

The juvenile court ought not to be overworked. A wise probation officer will dispose of many cases without sending the child to the juvenile court.

The juvenile court is an evolution and its evolution is still incomplete. One of the most important maxims to be borne in mind by those who share in the founding and upbuilding of a great social institution is that five years is a short time. When we remember that the juvenile court is only ten years old we can only say, "What hath God wrought!" If its methods are still crude, if its policy is undetermined, if its agents still lack in training, let us wait for twenty-five or fifty years and see what time will bring forth. In the meantime, let all those who are identified with this mighty institution unite to improve it in all respects. This court more than any other feels the influence and the help of a sound and healthy public sentiment. Without the active work of good men and good women to sustain the court and to hold it in right line, it never could have accomplished the great work which has already been done.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE JUVENILE COURT AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION*

By BERNARD FLEXNER

THE COURT

THE first juvenile court in the United States was established in Chicago in 1899. On its face, only the method of handling children's cases in court was changed. As a matter of fact, the whole attitude of society toward the juvenile delinquent was transformed. Henceforth the child who had found its way into court was not to be regarded as a criminal, to be punished and thrown into prison with adult offenders. Rather he was to be considered an object of the keenest solicitude to society. His individual welfare coincided with the well-being of the state. Humanitarian and social considerations thus recommended one and the same procedure. As an individual the wayward child appealed to sympathy; as the product of social conditions that were no fault of his, he had a fair claim against society itself; as an economic unit he was, if possible, to be saved. Sympathy, justice, and even the self-interest of society were all factors in bringing about the changed attitude.

The juvenile court is thus an explicit acknowledgment of the obligation of the state to throw around the child its aid and protection and to direct it into the path that leads to good citizenship. Obviously, regard for this principle calls for something entirely different in the demeanor of the judge and in the court itself. It means fundamentally that the child should feel from the moment the law lays its hand upon him that the judge is here to protect and not to punish him, to help and not to stigmatize him, and that the machinery of the court itself will be correspondingly modified to achieve this purpose.

* Reprinted by permission from *The Survey* of February 5, 1910.

This article is not a review of the juvenile court in all the states or all the cities of the United States. The movement has reached such proportions that the briefest outline of the whole situation would fill a volume. Where particular courts are not mentioned it is due to this fact, and to the further fact that the writer is not personally familiar with them.

In the West, where the movement spread rapidly, the court room and the practice in court were gradually brought into harmony with this legal principle and the objects which it implies. The conventional bench from which the judge looks down upon the child, as upon the adult, has given way to a desk or table so arranged as to permit the judge to come into close personal touch with the child and get his story. When it can lawfully be done, the judge's chambers, usually a small room, take the place of the larger court room, and here, in the presence of the judge, of the probation officer and the persons directly concerned, the story of the child's delinquency is told. Even in places where the proceedings are heard in a large court room, the bench, desk or table is so arranged that the child is protected from the crowd that fills the court room and the story is kept from other children in court. In Chicago, Cleveland, Saint Louis and Indianapolis it is difficult to hear a few feet away what is taking place between judge and child. The child as a matter of course is not put upon its oath.

The co-operation of the press, too, has been enlisted; an agreement has been made with the managing editors that the names of children brought before the court shall not appear in print.

One step more is needed. The proceedings of the court must not be published, in order that the child involved shall be protected and no other child amenable to suggestion shall be tempted to imitation. Justice to the child further demands that the neglected child be kept separate and apart from the delinquent child in the court room as well as after the hearing. One not infrequently finds crowded into a single session of the court boys and girls of all ages, neglected, dependent and delinquent, with imperfect supervision in the room while waiting to take their turn before the judge. This difficulty is, of course, readily solved in courts of which Boston is an example, where there is complete privacy and where there must be supervision over and separation of the children while they are waiting to be called. It is met equally well in Milwaukee, where cases of neglect are heard on the afternoon of one day and cases of delinquency on the afternoon of the succeeding day, and where, as in Chicago, cases of truancy are heard at separate sessions. In the main, however, most children's courts offend in this respect.

If the child is to be helped by the personality of the judge, if he is to feel that a chance is to be given him, that the object of the proceeding is to protect and not to punish him—if, in short, the court is to be something more than a police court for children, grind-

ing out their cases in much the same way as adults' trials are conducted, the essentials enumerated must find their way into children's courts whenever established. Unfortunately there still exist, strangely enough, children's courts in which practically every detail is contrary to the thought underlying the movement which created them; that continue, in a word, to be mere criminal courts in which the primary inquiry is directed to evidence bearing upon the commission of a crime. The social side of the inquiry, that which has for its object the consideration of the child's needs so as to make him a useful member of society, is a secondary consideration.

The Manhattan Children's Court is a type of such a court. The judge in his judicial robe sits high upon the bench with the child below him in the position and attitude of the adult offender brought before the bar of justice. Every small detail of the child's story is told in such a way as to make it the property of the overcrowded room, filled with men, women and children of all ages. The fundamental principle for which juvenile court workers have been striving is lost sight of in the forbidding formal trial of the child, characteristic of the procedure of the Manhattan court and others of its type. Reporters of the daily press flock there for their stories of "human interest" and, in utter disregard of its effect upon the children, drag their names and pictures into the daily newspaper. The state thus occupies a thoroughly illogical position; it establishes a judicial institution for a specific purpose, and then conducts it in a way largely to defeat that purpose.

Probation, the court's most efficient weapon, and the many constructive social forces that probation can employ, are unknown in a court like this, where the controlling thought is whether the child is guilty or not guilty. The contrast between the court that, disregarding the act, looks to the condition of the child in the hope of helping it, and the type represented by the Manhattan court, is aptly shown in the following cases, taken from the records of the Manhattan court. Observe the emphasis throughout on the criminal procedure and terminology:

Three boys, aged respectively fifteen, fifteen and thirteen years, were presented in court by the officer, who charged that he found the defendants in the busy shopping district of the city engaged in attempting to put their hands into the pockets of passersby and in opening wrist bags carried by women; that they wilfully and wrongfully pushed and jostled persons, and that in all of these actions they were acting in concert with one another. The officer further stated

that he had watched the defendants' actions for a period of about one hour, and offered the testimony of other police officers in corroboration of his statements. The defendants entered a plea of "not guilty" for each and were duly tried and convicted on the evidence submitted.

The record of these boys previous to their hearing, which was held January 21, 1909, is illuminating as illustrating the method of the court:

A was convicted of acting in a disorderly manner and playing at a game of dice called "craps" on the sidewalk. On March 15, 1908, sentence was suspended; on March 29, 1908 (two weeks later), he was again convicted of an offense exactly similar and was fined one dollar; April 19, 1908 (three weeks later), he was arrested, charged with petit larceny, for stealing a bicycle, but the record shows that no proper evidence was submitted to the court, no complaint was taken, and he was discharged. On May 31, 1908 (six weeks thereafter), he was convicted of playing a game on the sidewalk called "pitching pennies" with other boys, thereby obstructing the free passage of the sidewalk, and was fined one dollar. On June 22, 1908 (three weeks again having passed), he was convicted of discharging a firearm in a public place of the city, and was fined fifty cents. On November 3, 1908, he was convicted of acting in a disorderly manner and maintaining a bonfire in the public street. The record which I have does not disclose what order was made with reference to this conviction.

B, on February 14, 1908, was charged with grand larceny (picking pockets and stealing from a woman a purse and $1.50). He was duly tried and acquitted. On April 13, 1908, he was found in the company of and acting in concert with, so the record proceeds, two thieves and engaged in pushing and jostling wilfully passersby and attempting to open handbags carried by women. He was duly tried and convicted and placed on parole until June 6, 1908, on which date sentence was suspended. January 12, 1909 (ten days before the final appearance in court), he was charged with acting in a disorderly manner and throwing stones; pleaded "not guilty," was tried and acquitted.

Both of these boys were presented in court upon the several occasions of their appearance before different judges. The important thing in the eyes of the court in both cases was the question of "guilty" or "not guilty." Where the evidence was insufficient, as under the criminal law, the boys were acquitted and sent out of court. There must have been from the time of their first appearance sufficient evidence to warrant some kind of probationary oversight,

some effort to reach back into and correct the conditions that were responsible for their frequent appearance in court.

In Brooklyn, while the court room itself and many details of the practice are open to the objections urged, one finds a different attitude toward the child on the part of the judge who has seen the longest service in the Children's Court. Judge Wilkin has struggled, notwithstanding a law that has stood in his way, to work toward a more enlightened handling of children's cases and to develop a system of probation along lines that have proved of value elsewhere.

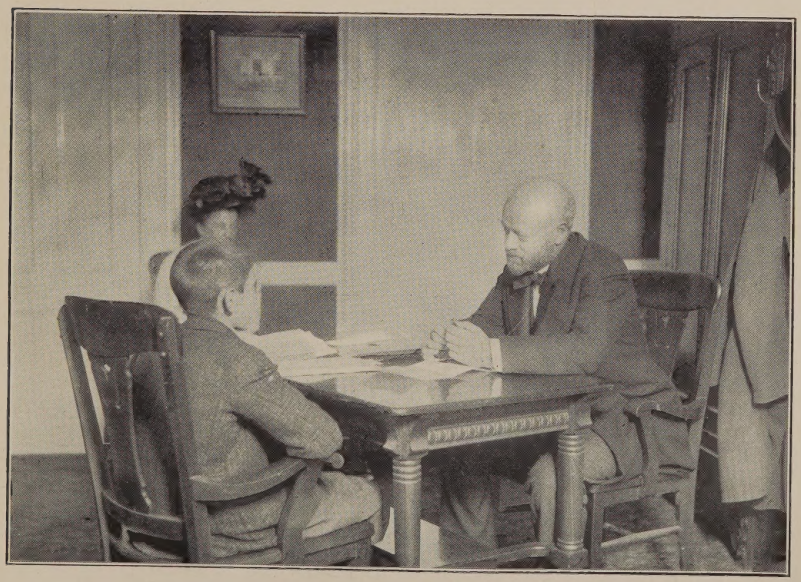
If the real function of the court is to be worked out in Greater New York, if it is to become an institution contributing its share to the salvation of the city's children, it must be built over from its very foundations; the recreated court must abandon the traditions of the criminal court, conforming to lines intelligently laid down elsewhere and now embodied in the legislation of a decade.

The juvenile court, as we find it today, is a city institution. It does not reach the rural communities. One of the obvious needs to be met is that the work of the court should be so amplified that rural centers may be embraced in its activities. The problem of the neglected and delinquent child is really not only an urban one. The absence in rural centers of much of the social work that is busied with the city child indicates the need outside of the city. Where the work of the court is limited to the city, the country child who gets into court is brought before a justice of the peace. He is a brave man who will undertake to defend such practice.

On January 1, 1910, a new law creating a children's court for the city of Buffalo became effective. This law marks a complete break in the method of handling the delinquent child in New York state. It embodies the spirit of the new legislation and makes it possible for the judge to consider the child as in need of the care and protection of the state, instead of handling it as a criminal. But the law, beneficent as it is, does not go far enough. Its powers are limited to the city itself. Within the corporate limits a child in court is treated in the enlightened way possible under juvenile court laws, and yet if the same child had violated some law in Erie county outside Buffalo, it would have had to be taken before a justice of the peace to be tried as a criminal. The remedy here, as elsewhere, is a court with jurisdiction co-extensive with the county. Uniformity cannot be secured in any other way.

An administrative difficulty will be met in counties where the county seat is far removed from other parts of the county. In

Brooklyn Children's Court in Session



Judge Wilkin Hearing a Boy's Case in Chambers

Brooklyn Children's Court
(By permission of *The Survey*)

Colorado this question has been solved by empowering the judge of the juvenile court to appoint masters of discipline in different parts of the county to hear cases in the first instance with a right of review by the judge. Other administrative details are considered in succeeding sections of this article.

THE PROBATION OFFICE

The ultimate value of the work of the juvenile court will be determined by the effect of probation upon the child. The quality of probationary oversight depends wholly upon the organization of the probation office. The efficient court must have intimately interwoven into its machinery a closely knit and well organized probation office, competent to make the investigation in such a way as to enable the judge to determine whether or not the child shall be placed on probation, and of carrying out in a consistent way the judgment of the court.

It is here that we encounter one of the greatest difficulties in establishing courts or in amplifying the work of courts already created. Legislatures are slow to see the value of providing for payment of an adequate number of probation officers. The absence of anything like an intelligent public opinion in the country as to the real meaning of probation increases the difficulty. For years the Chicago probation office was administered by officers paid by the Juvenile Court Committee, a private organization. In Brooklyn the same situation is still found, the three paid officers receiving their salaries from private sources. In many other courts the insufficient provision of the law has been supplemented by voluntary associations which have furnished paid officers or by individuals who have contributed to the payment of additional salary for an underpaid officer. There should be no further need for such an arrangement. The court has passed beyond the experimental stage, and private philanthropy has demonstrated its value.

Unless probation officers are paid out of the public treasury, it is practically impossible to secure any permanency for the work. In rare instances only is the interest of individuals so fixed as to find them willing to assume the burden. So long as probation officers are paid by private agencies and not out of public funds, the relation of the officer to the child as well as to the court is not what it should be.

The number of salaried officers and the salaries paid vary in different localities and depend on the attitude of the judge to the

work and the state of public opinion as to the value of probation, as may be gathered from the following partial list of courts:

SALARIES OF PROBATION OFFICERS

City	*Population, Census, 1900*	*Number of Paid Officers*	*Salary of Chief Probation Officer*	*Salaries Paid Other Probation Officers*
N. Y. { Manhattan	3,438,000	0	0	0
N. Y. { Brooklyn		(a) 3	0	0
Chicago	1,700,000	(b) 65	$3,000	$900
St. Louis	575,000	11	2,100	$1,000 to 1,500
Baltimore	509,000	5	0	1,200
Cleveland	382,000	6	2,500	900 to 1,200
Cincinnati	326,000	(c) 6	2,500	1,000
Pittsburgh	322,000	10	(h) 2,500	720 to 900
Detroit	286,000	(d) 9	1,200	1,000 to 1,200
Washington	279,000	3	1,500	1,000 to 1,200
Louisville	205,000	(e) 5	2,400	700 to 1,200
Indianapolis	169,000	(f) 4	Per day 3	Per day 3
Rochester	163,000	1	1,200	0
Denver	134,000	3	1,500	1,000 to 1,200
Columbus	126,000	6	1,800	1,000
Evansville, Ind.	59,000	1	Per day 3	0
Lexington, Ky.	26,000	(g) 2	1,200	240
Muncie, Ind.	21,000	1	Per day 3	0
N. Albany, Ind.	21,000	1	Per day 3	0

(a) One a Catholic, one a Protestant, one a Jew; all paid by private societies.
(b) Thirty are members of the police force in plain clothes, assigned to duty in the juvenile court under the direction of the chief probation officer.
(c) There are in addition four officers who give part of their time, paid by volunteer organizations.
(d) Eight are members of the police force in plain clothes; one is a woman.
(e) One is a member of the police force in plain clothes.
(f) Two are members of the police force in plain clothes.
(g) The assistant is a student and gives only a part of his time.
(h) $1,200 paid by county, balance by Juvenile Court Association, Knights of Columbus, Juvenile Court Aid Society and Colored Juvenile Court Society.

Inquiry discloses the fact that a salary approximating $2,500 a year is needed to secure the services of a competent chief probation officer for a city with a population between 200,000 and 500,000. Of the salaries paid assistants giving all their time, as shown by the foregoing table, the lowest is $700, in Louisville, Kentucky, an amount insufficient to secure competent service.

The prevailing opinion is that a salary of from $1,000 to $1,200 a year should be paid assistants. St. Louis, it will be noticed, increases the salaries of assistant probation officers as the length of

service increases until the maximum of $1,500 is reached. As a matter of course these salaries should be exclusive of car fare and other necessary expenses.

The method of selecting probation officers is of the utmost importance. In most states they are appointed by the judge. This method of selection presents many difficulties, but it has been adhered to in the main to avoid opposition on the part of judges who wish to hold on to the appointing power. There is nothing necessarily in the relation of the probation officer to the judge that would be disturbed were the appointment made otherwise. As a matter of fact, in most courts the judge does not supervise in any way whatever the work of the probation officer after the child has been placed on probation. The direct question was asked in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Rochester, Indianapolis, St. Louis, Louisville and Evansville, and in all cases the answer was that the judge did not exercise any supervision at all over the work of the probation officer. This is necessarily so. The judge is usually much too busy to give the time required for adequate supervision. The matter is put thus by Homer Folks:

"But further than that, and this, I think, lies at the bottom of the question, I am led to believe that the oversight and direction of the work of probation officers from day to day and from week to week, perfecting their plans, their methods and holding them to their duty is not necessarily, is not preferably, a judicial but is an executive function, just as much so as the administration of the reformatory institutions to which those same children might and recently would have been committed. The judicial frame of mind is that of taking up case by case, eliminating all other considerations and all other facts, and centering the attention for the time upon the law and the facts, in that one individual case, then to pass on to another, and to another and to another. Doesn't that tend to build up a machine—I don't mean a political machine but an administrative machine? It is one and one and one and one. In the consideration of each of these it is inherently important that all the others should be left aside. Now then, the work of the probation officer is inherently and essentially that of keeping all of these under his care and in his mind continually. It is that of perfecting, step by step, an organized plan by which he knows all the time what is going on about all of these children."*

The practice that exists in courts, of which Manhattan is a

* Juvenile Probation, by Homer Folks. National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1906, page 121.

type, of "paroling" the child to a fixed day, usually six or eight weeks in advance, has nothing to recommend it. When the time arrives the court, as a matter of course, relies on what the parole officer reports. In a few instances the judges do active probation work. A striking illustration of this is found in Judge Lindsey's court in Denver and in Judge DeLacy's court in Washington. In both instances probationers meet with these judges at intervals. In Colorado the power of appointment is in the court, subject, however, to the provision that the appointment must meet the approval of the state board of charities. In Chicago and under the recent Missouri law the applicant must pass an examination, partly written and partly oral, conducted by persons with some experience and knowledge of probation work.

The Probation Commission of New York (Report, 1906) spent a great deal of time investigating this subject and reached the conclusion that, substantially, the method pursued in Chicago and St. Louis will insure the best results. New York and Massachusetts are working toward the ideal solution in the creation of state probation commissions. Such commissions, as a matter of course, to accomplish their real purpose, must be clothed not only with advisory power and certain supervisory powers over probation officers, which they now have, but with the power of appointment and removal of officers which they have not.

Where there is no competent board of examination, boards of visitation, juvenile court associations and other voluntary organizations can exercise a wholesome restraint in the matter of appointments by being actively interested in the administrative side of the work. The problem of the probation office is so complex that not many judges will deliberately set their faces against an enlightened public opinion on the subject.

Quite as important a consideration in the organization of the office is the number of salaried officers provided by law. New Albany, Ind., with a population of 20,628, has one paid officer, while Rochester, with a population of 162,608, has only one; Louisville, with a population of 204,731, has five and Indianapolis, with practically the same population as Rochester, has four. Manhattan stands at the tail of the list with none, the court relying wholly upon the agents of a private society. Brooklyn has three, all paid, however, by private organizations. If the work is to achieve any lasting results, if anything approaching harmony or system is to come out of the chaos that now reigns in many probation offices, there must be one chief officer

and one or more assistants, all paid by the state, in cities or counties whose population exceeds 50,000.

At the very outset, the work of the office should be thoroughly systematized so that every detail may be readily referred to. The very opposite is the case in many offices now. The probation office of the St. Louis court, which is most efficiently organized, adopted its present plan of administration, filing, etc., after securing the expert advice of the representatives of three concerns supplying office supplies, and the system finally installed is the result of these conferences.

The chief officer should be held directly responsible for the probation office. His relation to the court, to the other officers under him, and finally to the probationers, makes it necessary that he be a person of executive ability with some capacity for organization and capable, by temperament and interest, of directing and supervising the work under him. To keep alive the interest of the court itself in the work of the probation office the plan, of which St. Louis and Cleveland furnish good examples, should be carried out of having the chief probation officer make to the judge a monthly report of the disposition of cases brought before the court; of the number of children in charge of probation officers and of the number of the court's wards in institutions. Such monthly reports mean, of course, that the chief probation officer must be in close touch with all other probation officers and with institutions.

The records, which it is absolutely necessary to keep, will not be kept in a probation office with any considerable number of children to care for, if the work of the office in all its detail falls upon one officer. In Rochester, for instance, during the year ending September 30, 1908, 480 boys and forty-three girls were brought before the Children's Court, of whom 140 boys and two girls were placed on probation.* Obviously no one person could do the work required by this number of children. The work of this particular probation officer was not limited to the 140 boys and two girls who were actually placed on probation, and even if it had been, and even if he had been assisted by a certain number of volunteer probation officers, the task would, notwithstanding, have been too great for one person adequately to handle. As a matter of fact, careful work required a painstaking investigation into the whole 523 cases, so that the judge might have the proper guidance when the cases were brought before him.

* Second Annual Report, State Probation Commission, New York.

It must be borne in mind that the probation officer is charged:

(1) With the duty of making an investigation into the child's history, its antecedents, its home, school or employment record, neighborhood and everything in fact that will throw any light on its appearance in court.

(2) Of appearing at the hearing.

(3) Of acting as probation officer, exercising a friendly supervision over the child.

It will not be disputed that the items enumerated fall within the duty of a probation officer.

Too little stress, unfortunately, is laid upon the preliminary investigation prior to the hearing; too often probation is tried when if a complete investigation had been made, an experiment doomed to failure would not have been tried.

Where it is possible to get the necessary money, one officer at least should be detailed to make the preliminary investigation in all cases. There are two controlling reasons for this:

(1) The qualities required of an investigating officer, trained in digging out the essential facts, are wholly different from those required in the subsequent work of probationary oversight.

(2) The attitude of the child toward the probation officer who has searched the neighborhood for evidence against the child and the attitude of its parents are in most cases hostile. The officer starts out with the ill-feeling and distrust of the very persons with whom he is to get in close personal relation and the difficulties of a position already great enough are increased many fold.

In St. Louis there is connected with the probation office a man who investigates all boys' cases and all the facts in girls' cases. He does not interview the girls—that is done by one of the women probation officers. In Indianapolis a police officer in plain clothes investigates the boys' cases, and a woman, girls' cases. It would seem much better if the investigating officer were a woman, for the reason that there are few if any boys' cases which a woman cannot investigate, while on the other hand she would care for all of the girls' cases.

In most courts the mistake is made of having the probation officer make the investigation, and the officer already overworked is burdened still further. In Cleveland probation officers are obliged to serve the summons and other necessary papers at the time of making the preliminary investigation. The practice is defended on the ground of economy, the saving to the county, it is claimed, being

large enough to pay the entire expense of the probation office. On the other hand it is believed in St. Louis that specializing the work of probation officers makes for greater efficiency on the part of all officers. The care with which investigations are made by special investigators would seem to indicate that the probation office should be developed along this line where it is possible.

There should be a paid man and a paid woman officer in every probation office. There is no justification for the practice found in some courts of placing a girl on probation to a man, while there may be a good reason for placing a young boy on probation to a woman.

In the effort to add to the number of officers, resort has been had in a varying degree to the use of volunteers. No difficulty is experienced in getting both men and women to volunteer, especially at the beginning of a movement to establish a court, or when by a disclosure of weakness in the system there is a revival of interest in the court. Opinions differ as to the value of the work done by volunteers. Indianapolis relies upon them largely. The court has a list of 565 volunteer officers, of whom 190 are active. Miss Graydon, the chief probation officer, states that these volunteers hold a formal meeting annually; that there are interviews between the volunteers and chief probation officers as occasion demands, but that in the main the volunteer is held accountable for his ward by requiring monthly reports, notices being sent to those who are remiss. The task of supervising the work of any such numbers of volunteers is tremendous, and it is difficult to see how anything approaching adequate supervision can be exercised by one person. The volunteers here come from church organizations, and include ministers, merchants, professional men and women interested in church and social work.

Cincinnati has a roster of 150 volunteer officers, of whom about 20 per cent are active. Baltimore does not use volunteers, except the agents of charitable organizations, who are used occasionally. Chicago has not abandoned the practice wholly, and resort is had occasionally to a volunteer. The officer in a particular district may call in a volunteer, and while one district officer has succeeded in getting some help, in other districts the result has been otherwise. St. Louis likewise resorts to them somewhat in connection with the work being done by a paid officer, but they are responsible to the paid officer and supplement his or her supervision. Cleveland's volunteer force consists of about thirty members of the fire department and a few women. These volunteers are closely supervised by the chief probation officer, who in large measure directs their work,

The chief officer was firmly of the opinion that the only positive results have been gotten from the firemen used.

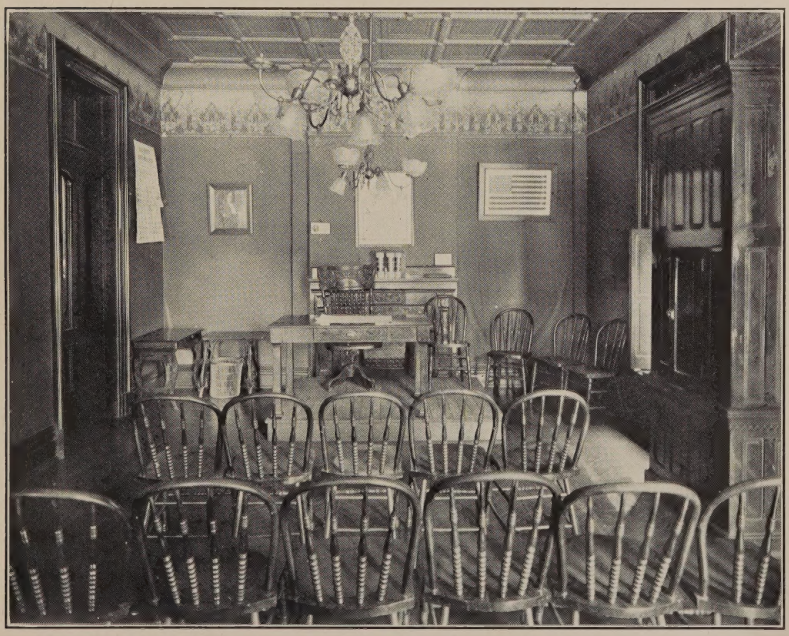
The experiment in Chicago, in St. Louis, Cleveland, Louisville and elsewhere seems to justify the conclusion that the work of volunteers is of doubtful value. The failure of the system may be due to a lack of direction; or of close supervision of the volunteer officers by the paid officer. The difficulty is to be found more likely in the nature of probation itself and the time required to do really efficient work. Says Roger N. Baldwin of St. Louis:

"The probation process in essence is a process of education by constructive friendship. It presupposes an intense personal interest; it presupposes a perception of a child's needs in such a way that the child may be more securely set upon his feet by throwing about him every constructive force which the community has to offer. It means introducing him by one way or another to those activities which will enable him to spend his entire time rightly. The process does not require theories; it does not require book knowledge. It must never be in any degree sentimental, patronizing or amateurish. It requires sympathy, tact, good humor, patience and above all a thorough knowledge of the needs of child-life and the manifold ways in which to meet them."

Whatever reason may be assigned for the failure, there can be no possible doubt that the indiscriminate use of volunteers is to be condemned. Where the exigencies of the court require the experiment to be made or to be adhered to, care should be had to limit the volunteers to persons whose interest is genuine, a quality exceedingly difficult to measure, and the volunteer should not only be held to a strict accountability for his ward, but his work should be carefully supervised and directed by the paid officer. If anything approaching uniformity in the matter of probation is to be had, it can be secured in no other way; any other course will ultimately bring the whole subject into discredit.

Within the past few years, the Big Brother movement has been co-operating with the court in furnishing volunteer officers. Wherever men volunteers are used they are to a large extent Big Brothers. It is now proposed to organize along similar lines a Big Sister movement. The value of these movements is to be judged by the same standards we have applied above. To adopt them in any wholesale fashion is to invite failure. They can be worth while only under the most careful supervision of a trained officer, who will require the

Columbus Juvenile Court and Detention Home



Columbus Juvenile Court Room—Arranged for Informal Hearings
(By permission of *The Survey*)

same painstaking adherence to their wards from these volunteers that he will exact from his paid assistants.

If volunteers are used, the number of probationers such an officer can oversee becomes important; the fewer children given to a volunteer the better. One child, if the system can be held down to it, is better than two, and few volunteers can be found whose time will permit them to look after more than two. Opinions differ as to the number of children to be given to one volunteer officer. Miss Graydon, chief probation officer of the Indianapolis court, places the maximum at two, while in Cleveland as many as three are given some officers. Mr. Witter, chief probation officer of the Chicago court, is of the opinion that the number is to be determined by the paid officer under whom the volunteer works. In Louisville in many cases the number exceeded three; in Rochester one woman volunteer officer has five children as probationers, but she gives practically her entire time to the court. It may fairly be assumed that few volunteers have sufficient leisure to give the necessary time to more than one child. There may be a few cases of zealous workers who can effectively handle two children, and it is only where the volunteer officer is giving practically all of his or her time, as in the case of the Rochester officer, that this number should be exceeded. Where, as in Louisville, the number is largely in excess, failure is inevitable.

It is not only in the case of volunteers that the number of children placed on probation is in excess of the number that an officer can oversee; the same condition is disclosed by the following table with reference to paid officers:

City	*Number of children on probation to one paid officer*
Chicago	75 to 125.
Cleveland	Average 60.
St. Louis	120 to 180.
Louisville	30 to 80.
Cincinnati	150 to 300.
Detroit	Varies—some districts more congested than others.
Rochester	30.
Pittsburgh	75 average.
Columbus	112.
Lexington, Ky.	150.
Denver	100.
Baltimore	25 to 60 maximum.

If the opinions of many probation officers are considered in connection with the foregoing table, the conclusion is inevitable that most probation officers are burdened with more children than they

can care for. Mr. Thurston of Chicago and Mr. Lewis of Cleveland are of the opinion that 75 is the maximum number that an officer can oversee, devoting his entire time to the work. Mr. Baldwin of St. Louis places the number at 100. Mr. Fagg, chief probation officer of Pittsburgh, Mr. Killup, probation officer of Rochester, and Miss Keyes of Columbus are of the opinion that an officer cannot do good work with more than 50 children. Mr. Weir of the Cincinnati court stands alone in stating that, depending upon circumstances, a paid officer can oversee 200 children. If the majority opinion is to control, it is clear that of the courts in the foregoing table, with the exception of Baltimore and Cleveland, all are offending in this regard.

The question of the period of probation becomes important in considering the number of children an officer can oversee. In some courts we find the judge fixing a definite period of probation varying in length. Fundamentally this seems to be wrong. The disclosure at the hearing cannot possibly be a guide in this matter. The important thing is that the probation officer shall have time in which to correct the conditions which have sent the child into court. Who shall say in advance how long a period is required to repair the spiritual damage to a human being? It is equally impossible to fix either a minimum or a maximum period within the time that the court has jurisdiction of the child. The probation officer must necessarily be the judge. He is, after all, in close personal touch with the child; the child should be kept on probation subject to regular visitation and contact by the officer for such a period as in the opinion of the officer is necessary to give him the needed start in the right direction. At the expiration of that period, the records of the court should show by a proper entry the fulfillment by the child of the terms of his probation and his discharge.

With what may be properly termed "the court records kept by the clerk of the court," the probation officer can have little concern. In practically all courts these records are made to conform to the legal forms prescribed by the general law. It is difficult, within the limits of this article, to do more than indicate the records that should be kept in the probation office touching each child.

Primarily, system should be introduced into the office; probationers and probation officers should be properly indexed, so that the cases may be readily referred to. The courts in various parts of the country use forms for making the preliminary investigation which aim to cover substantially the same facts. They embrace the child's family, its neighborhood, its school, its habits and physical condition.

A few undertake to secure meager information touching the employment of the child. In none of the courts, so far as I have been able to ascertain, is this subject investigated with sufficient care. It is admitted that certain classes of employment furnish more delinquent children to the courts than others. It is further conceded that the hours of labor are an inducing cause.

For the light that may be thrown upon the whole subject, it is important that the preliminary investigation and history cards kept by probation officers emphasize the character of employment, the wages paid, and the hours of employment. There should be an appropriate blank showing the school record of the child, its home and church record; a blank upon which the probation officer may report at length his observations, and finally a blank upon which the entire history of the case will appear; all of these blanks to be placed in the envelope containing the case.

THE DETENTION HOME

The detention home provided for under the juvenile court laws is the logical outgrowth of the laws providing for compulsory separation of child offenders from adult criminals after arrest and prior to hearing. These earlier laws, of which we find an example in New York, make it unlawful to incarcerate a child sixteen years of age or under in a jail or police station. Regard for the spirit of the juvenile court legislation will carry us far beyond these laws.

It is a lamentable fact that communities doing good work in many ways for the child brought before the juvenile court, are among the worst offenders against the spirit of the law in the matter of detention homes. Baltimore, as an illustration, still uses the various police stations throughout the city as places of detention for children.

The essentials of a good home are no longer open to question. Cities where a consistent effort has been made to meet the requirements of the law show what is possible. In brief, to meet the social and legislative requirements, the place where children are detained must not be simply a building or a room where the child is separated from the adult; that answered the requirements for a time. It must be a place that approximates a home or a school. While approximating a home, care must be had to guard against the possibility of alienating the child from its home when the time comes for it to return to its parents. To put it in another way, the detention home,

while meeting the full requirements of the law, must nevertheless be a place to which the child, except under most unusual conditions, will not want to return of its own volition. To surround it with comforts and conveniences that are not only beyond it presently, but are likely to remain so, misses as completely what we should strive for as to adhere to the obsolete practice of making no provision for the child beyond separating it from the adult criminal. Bearing in mind the foregoing, some provision must be made for a certain class of children who need to be detained forcibly. Bars should be dispensed with, but heavy wire screens may be used.

Fundamentally the function of the detention home is to provide a place for temporary detention of children pending hearing. In practice it has been found helpful to commit certain children to the home for a few days after hearing. In Chicago the average period of detention is six days, in Cleveland five days, and less than this in other cities. In order to meet these conditions fully the home must be so organized as to reach both classes of children.

It may be observed at the outset that the proposed home must be separate and apart from a jail; a place of detention for children which is separated from a jail by a thinly disguised wall or partition, and which relies on the jail for part of its administrative help, its food and other necessaries, is nevertheless a part of the jail, and is clearly a violation of the law.

Pittsburgh has a modern jail, a model in every way, viewed as a *jail*. The detention rooms on the second floor are entered through the heavy iron gate that takes one into the jail proper. The children are fed on jail fare, served in the same way that adult prisoners are served. On the day in October when I visited the juvenile court, there were in these rooms 22 boys, ranging from seven to sixteen years, associating with each other, held for various causes from the inclusive term "incorrigible," used in connection with the youngest, to an offense against decency in the case of the oldest.

The midday meal was served by two trusties in charge of an officer, who carried the jail fare around the room used as a dining room, in a tin tureen, from which the "mixture" was served by a dipper into separate tin cups to the children.

On the upper floor were nine girls, one of whom was just recovering from whooping cough and was still coughing. As no regular matron is provided for the girls, all were in charge of a woman serving a three months' sentence for larceny. There was no opportunity for play; a certain time was given over to reading by one of the ma-

trons in charge of the boys, and to add to the terror of the situation the rod was used unsparingly to curb the spirit of the child. It is an easy matter in places of detention, such as this, to use the jail itself for boys, as is done when the inadequate quarters provided are filled. Within these rooms no official of the probation office, save the chief officer, is admitted. The women probation officers are not permitted ever to interview the girls detained. The court itself, established for the purpose of saving the child from the stigma of being a criminal, is held within the jail, and cannot be reached save through the bars which admit old and young, the habitual offender and the little child of seven whose only offense is that it is incorrigible at home.

In Manhattan we find another type of detention home. All children taken into custody within the boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx are detained at the building of the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. In addition to the children taken into custody there are detained here children who are wanted as witnesses in criminal cases. The period of detention varies from a day to several months. On the occasion of one visit by the writer in the summer of 1908, there were in the building 90 children, two of whom had been detained for three months. Notwithstanding this no effort is made to care for the leisure of these children in a rational way. On the day of my visit the children were arranged in several large rooms, boys separated from girls, seated on long benches placed against the walls busily occupied in pulling pieces of rag carpet. No adequate provision is made at segregation; the neglected child and the delinquent child associate and sleep in large dormitories. Education and directed play, as we understand them, find no place here. The energies of the child in its long leisure, for aught we know, go into new plans that in the end will bring him back into the place and into the children's court.

The worst sufferer, however, is the child of the small community and in the rural districts where the court is as yet unknown and where much work is to be done. In these places the child who must be detained shares the fate of the adult criminal and divides his cell. This is true in Evansville, Indiana, a city of 60,000, and in New Albany, Indiana, a city of 22,000; the county jail is used for children, although the probation officer sought to justify the practice by saying that when a child is put into a cell the door is not locked. Throughout the smaller communities of Kentucky the same condition is unfortunately true.

The essentials for a home approximating the law may be set down seriatim:

(1) It must be separate and apart from the jail, and must not be administered in connection with the jail or by its officers.

(2) It must be in charge of a superintendent and matron competent to teach children or some arrangement must be made for the services of teachers.

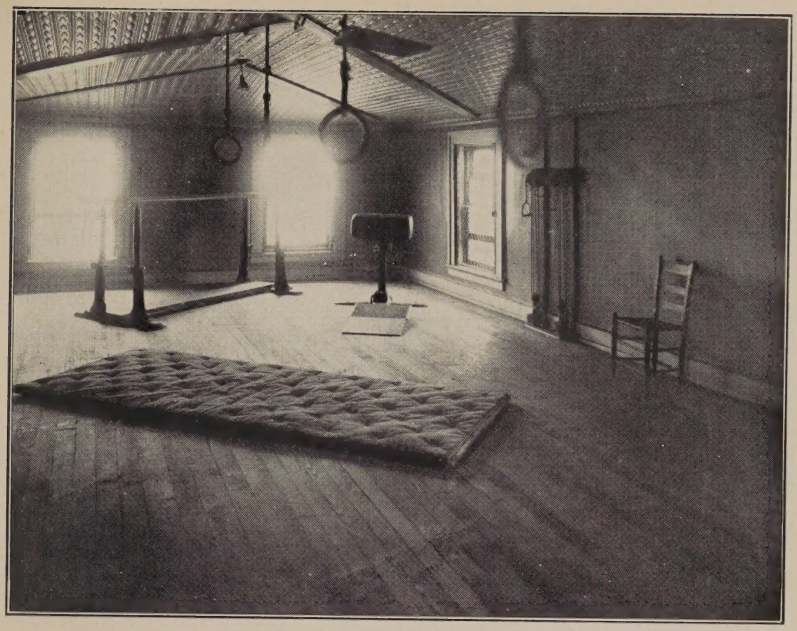
(3) Obviously the sexes must be separated and dependent children must be kept separate from delinquent children. There must be such supervision as will insure the separation of the children.

(4) The child's leisure time must be cared for; he may be used to do certain work about the home. He must be permitted to play indoors and out under the right sort of direction.

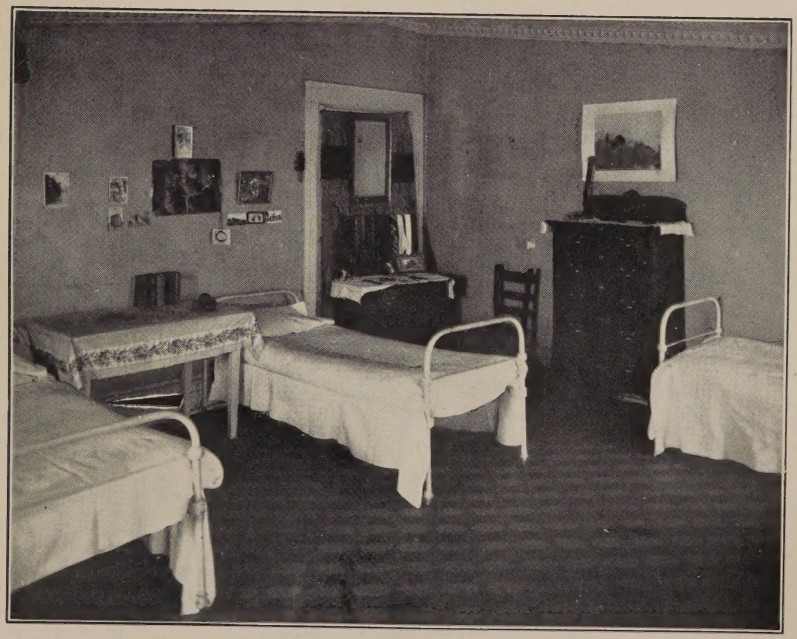
(5) With all this, however, he must be made to feel that his detention is to enforce respect for the rights of others; he must not be coddled to the point of weaning him away from his home.

The detention home for a large community is in the main solved by Chicago; an account of it appears elsewhere in this volume. Even here no adequate provision is made for play. St. Louis, which up to the present time has relied on an old residence that was wholly inadequate, has now under way plans for a home to cost about $30,000.

Milwaukee's new detention home shows the possibilities in a city that is willing to meet the situation fully. It will have a front of 140 feet, a depth of 90 feet, and will be set back 70 feet from the street line, the intervening space being used for separate playgrounds for boys and girls. The building is of three stories, with a high basement, built of brick with stone trimmings. The juvenile court and its officers are all in the first story, the detention home occupies the second and third stories and part of the basement. The boys are to be kept in the right half of the building and the girls in the left half. The two principal stairways, one for boys and one for girls, are so arranged that the children can go from top to bottom of the building freely without guards. This is accomplished by a screen in the first story, dividing the stairway from the public corridor. Thus the children can go to their playgrounds by a stairway to the basement. There are adequate toilets and bathrooms, and the discharging rooms are so arranged that children brought to this room to leave do not appear again in the corridor. There are separate dining rooms for the boys and girls, class rooms, physician's consultation room and hospital with isolation rooms.



GYMNASIUM



DORMITORY

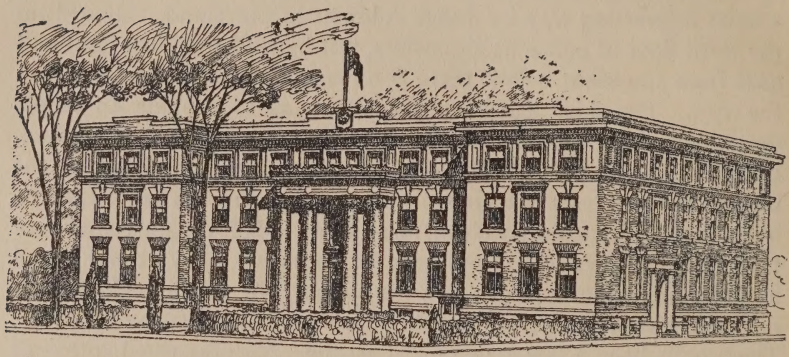
LOUISVILLE DETENTION HOME

(By permission of *The Survey*)

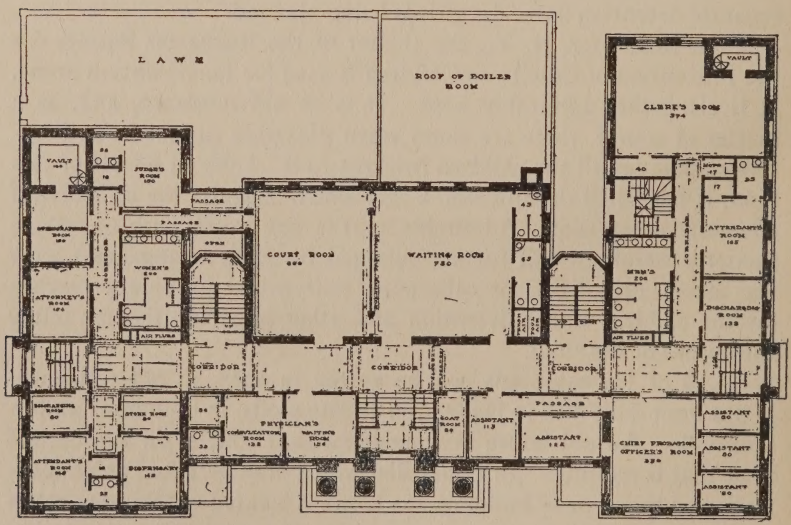
But it is a mistake to suppose that the problem of the detention home can be met only by spending money as lavishly as it has been spent in Chicago or Milwaukee. It has been worked out for boys in a most interesting way by Judge Addams in Cleveland. He utilizes the third floor of police headquarters, but beyond receiving light and heat from the plant below, there is no connection whatever between the two. The floor has been divided so as to provide an ample dormitory, well lighted and ventilated, a matron's room, kitchen, bathroom, etc. It is in charge of a matron who is assisted by the boys in making beds, washing dishes and cooking. When I saw the home it was immaculately clean, and I have Judge Addam's assurance that this is always so. It provides for 20 boys. They attend school in a building about a block from the home. The teacher calls for the boys and returns with them to the home after their school work is over. There have been a few attempts at escape. No prescribed course of study is followed. The particular needs of each boy are considered and an effort is made to give all of them occupation work. Until a short time ago no place of detention was provided for girls, who were detained in the Convent of the Good Shepherd. Now, however, a separate detention home for girls is being planned.

In Rochester, N. Y., the shelter of the Rochester Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children is used for the detention home. It is altogether admirably kept. It is an old residence, and, as a matter of course, there are times when provision cannot be satisfactorily made for all the children brought to it. Like all homes of this kind, it has small dormitories, a fact which suggests the difficulty of adequate supervision. Admirable as it is, one would wish to see the shelter's usefulness still further enlarged by some arrangement with the school authorities, or otherwise, that would provide a teacher for the children under detention and other opportunities for filling the leisure of the child.

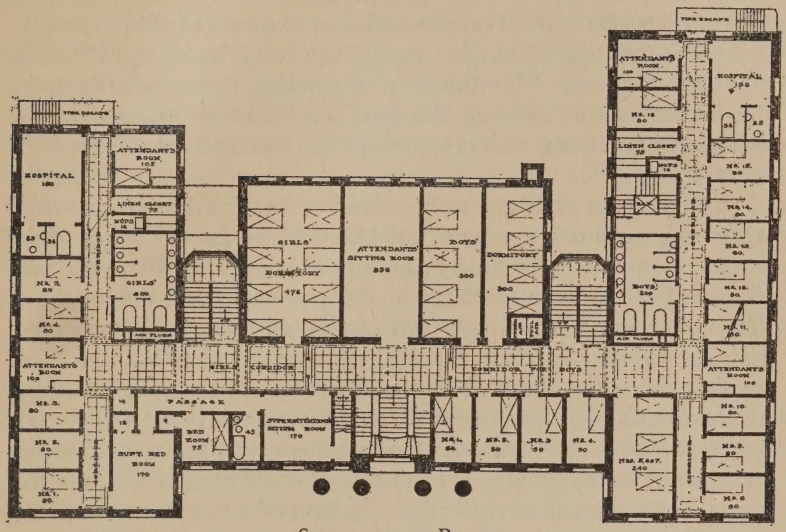
All of the essentials can be gotten in such an old residence. It has been done also in Denver, in Indianapolis, in Columbus and in Louisville. An old house in a neighborhood that is on the decline is all that is required. In Louisville, which may be taken as an illustration of this type of building, the house is located within easy reach of the court in what was once a fashionable neighborhood. It has a large yard where the children play and have some apparatus for play. It has large and comfortable rooms, some used as dormitories, others for play and study, and an indoor gymnasium has been fitted up on the top floor. There are both shower and tub baths for boys



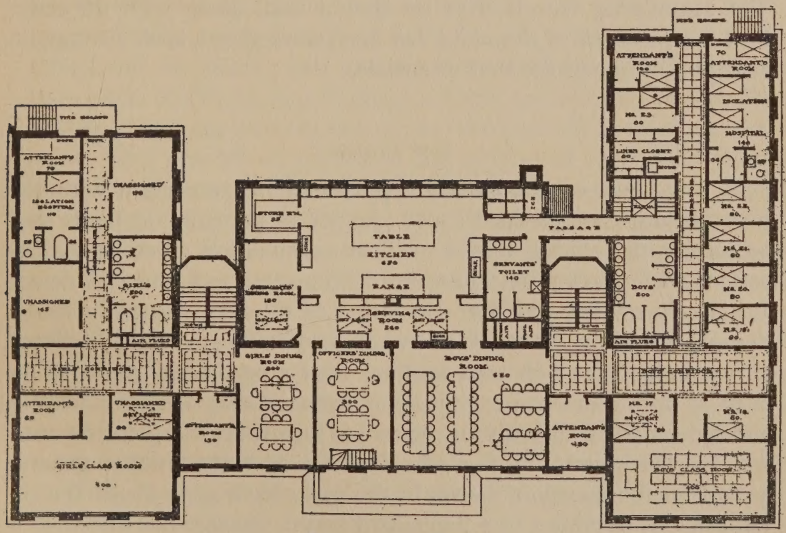
MILWAUKEE JUVENILE COURT



MILWAUKEE JUVENILE COURT
FIRST-FLOOR PLAN



SECOND-FLOOR PLAN



THIRD-FLOOR PLAN

MILWAUKEE JUVENILE COURT

and girls, white and black. As a matter of course, the suggestion presupposes administrative help sufficient to insure careful oversight.

The question of proper segregation is by no means solved in any of the homes. The difficulty of meeting it properly increases the importance of securing the best possible supervision over the children in the home, not only during their waking hours, but in their dormitories.

One of the problems to be solved is what to do with the child whom it is necessary to detain, but who lives too far to bring it to the county seat, or for the child in the rural community where the provisions of the juvenile court law do not extend beyond the corporate limits of a city. No entirely satisfactory solution has been offered. Judge Addams has made the interesting suggestion that in most small communities there will be found families who might be willing to provide the necessary room for small compensation. It may not be the way out, but it is worth the experiment, for assuredly any change will be better than the intolerable conditions of the jails and lockups of the small communities. Substantial compliance with the provision of the law in this matter is within easy reach of all but the smallest communities in which juvenile courts have been established. The astonishing fact is that we should find, along with the claim that the problem of the child has been worked out, such a complete disregard of one of the first essentials.

THE CLINIC

The clinic or child-study department in connection with the juvenile court has justified itself. Justice to the child demands that he receive the chance that a medical examination gives him. Experience has shown that juvenile delinquency and physical defect are closely related and that correction of the one frequently works the solution of the other. We have all seen duplicated the experience of one judge who had been working with a persistent truant to no purpose until a medical examination disclosed that defective hearing and sight made it difficult for the boy to hear what was going on or to see the blackboard in the schoolroom. Notwithstanding general accord on the question, courts in the main have gone about the establishment of clinics in a haphazard way. Chicago has one with a paid physicain in addition to many volunteer physicians, the court there having found it desirable to have a paid physician, devoting his whole time to the work. Indianapolis had one in connection with the

court, but it has been abandoned. According to the present chief officer, girls are examined at the detention home when necessary, but there is no examination of boys. Detroit meets the question by occasionally taking children to dispensaries. For a while they relied on the services of volunteer physicians, but the plan failed.

It is assumed that the value of medical examination of children coming into court is no longer open to debate, and that some adequate provision should be made to bring it about in all courts. Local conditions must determine in a large measure how the subject can be met best. Notwithstanding the failure in Detroit to use volunteer physicians, it is possible to organize the work in such a way as to secure the services of physicians gratis, and few communities will need to rely at all upon the services of a paid physician in addition to volunteers, as Chicago has found necessary.

The clinic, if possible, should be held at a place convenient to the court. If space permits, the probation office is the best place. For a time the necessary examinations in Louisville were held in the detention home, but it was found that this arrangement made it practically impossible to examine some children who were before the court, but were not detained in the home. The necessity of a change was forcibly brought home when a boy who was committed to the Louisville Industrial School on Friday carried the mumps into the school, and by Sunday had infected twelve other boys. In St. Louis the clinics of the various medical schools are utilized; in Cleveland and Rochester the city physicians are relied on. Whenever necessary it has been possible to command the services of specialists without charge to the state. The consent of the parent or guardian should be secured, if possible, and one of the parents should be present at the examination. The examination has been limited, except in unusual cases, to certain measurements and weight that may throw light on the condition of the child, and to the eyes, ears, nose, throat, teeth and skin. The results of the psychological tests being carried on by Dr. Healy in Chicago will be awaited with the greatest interest. In some courts the practice obtained in the cases of very young, as well as older girls, of extending the examination beyond this for the purpose of substantiating what otherwise might be a doubtful case, touching the waywardness of the child. This practice, in so far as it concerns very young children, is to be discouraged, even though it be of value in the cases of older girls. Judge Mack, however, cites a case of a girl of fifteen who was a nurse in two prominent families at the time she was diseased. His view is that if the judge believes

from the evidence that the girl is delinquent in the manner stated, and she denies it, the judge should afford her the opportunity to be examined by a woman physician, selected by the court. If she refuses, the judge must act on his judgment, based on the evidence before him. He is further of the opinion that if the child is committed to an institution, examination should be made either by the court or by the institution for the purpose of protecting other children in the institution.

Obviously the corps of physicians should be made up of men and women. By having a staff of four or five physicians it has been possible in Louisville to make the necessary examinations on Friday morning before the cases are heard. The necessary apparatus can be secured for approximately $100.

The value of this part of the work to the court depends absolutely upon the care with which the recommendations of the physician are carried out. The parents, except in a few cases, cannot be relied upon to carry out directions. Where the child is committed to an institution the matter is simple, but where he is sent back to his home under the supervision of a probation officer, it necessarily falls to the probation officer to see that the recommendations of the physician have been carried out. This should be done, and whether or not it is done should appear in the report of the probation officer. In not a few cases parents otherwise willing are unable for economic reasons to do what is required. It is here that the court comes into close touch with the agencies in the community organized to render this kind of service. No difficulty is experienced in providing all the means necessary to relieve the condition in a properly organized probation office that is in touch with other existing agenices in the community. It has been found helpful in some communities to secure the co-operation of a visiting nurse to follow up all cases requiring special after-care.

Notwithstanding a constantly increasing interest in the subject of medical examination of all children, there is at the same time an astonishing indifference to this special phase of the work.

WORK WITH OTHER AGENCIES

It is impossible for the court to stand apart from the agencies in the community whose work touches any of the many forms of human misfortune. The very nature of the task which falls to the court forces it into the closest relationship with these other social or-

ganizations. No court is able to work out the problem before it unaided; let us not forget this. At the very outset we are met by the "dependent" or "destitute" child, presenting to the court the single question of relief. Unfortunately the earlier laws were framed to reach these cases as well as the cases of neglected and delinquent children. Sooner or later this jurisdiction must be narrowed so as to exclude cases of dependency or destitution, as is done under the Massachusetts law, and has been the case in Missouri since July, 1909. Cases of dependency or destitution unaccompanied by parental omission or neglect belong properly to the Charity Organization Society or similar agencies in the community organized for relief work. Manifestly there must be the closest co-operation between the probation office and the relief societies.

An interesting illustration of co-operation between the court and the relief agencies is seen in Cleveland. Many cases of neglected children reach the court after repeated efforts on the part of the Associated Charities to solve the problem. Under the Ohio law, where the neglect is the result of parental omission, the court may send the parent to the workhouse and the county pays his family 40 cents a day through the probation office. During the past year 86 families were helped in this way, a total of $3,118.20 being paid out. The probation officer, however, realizing that the Associated Charities had been in close touch with many of the families long before they reached the court, distributed 60 per cent of this fund through the Associated Charities, which paid the money to the families entitled to receive it. A further 5 per cent was paid to institutions which had taken children in cases where both parents were sent to the workhouse.

This close co-operation is needed not only with relief societies but with other agencies. With a large number of both boys and girls who reach the court the immediate thing needed is employment. The character of the employment and the hours of labor become controlling factors, and an employment bureau organized jointly by different organizations in charge of a paid worker will do much toward solving this problem in an intelligent way. In most of the courts mentioned the question is met by the individual probation officer or the judge as the case arises. I recall upon the occasion of a visit to the children's court of Syracuse the eagerness with which Judge Shove went after a "job" for a boy, after the judge had discovered the need and the kind of work the boy was interested in doing. The subject is one that has been reduced to a system in Cleveland.

The court runs a daily advertisement in the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* asking employers to communicate with the court if they are in need of boys. The chief probation officer has a list of manufacturers who are willing to employ them, and the employment bureau of the Young Men's Christian Association is appealed to for a certain class of boys.

The Cleveland Consumers' League maintains an employment bureau for women and girls in charge of a paid superintendent, and one assistant. It is supported by voluntary contributions from ten organizations doing social work and individuals and firms. The girls in court who need employment find it through this bureau. The majority are placed in factories taken from a list which has been inspected by the superintendent of the bureau and approved by the labor inspector or a committee of the Chamber of Commerce. So far as possible the probation officer should be relieved of finding employment. Much better results will come from utilizing the other social activities in the community.

The school furnishes a ready-made institution whose facilities should be called into closest play with the probation office. In Denver, Judge Lindsey has made it the very backbone of his work. The instant co-operation which he has brought about shows the possibility of utilizing this force. Practically all the courts have secured the co-operation of the public school teacher to the extent of securing school reports about probationers. The danger here, of course, is that the report unaccompanied by any other interest is likely to become perfunctory. St. Louis has found it valuable in keeping up the interest of teachers to have the probation office in telephonic communication with the schools, the plan pursued in Denver, so that appeal can at once be made to the teacher in case of a child who requires special care at school. When one considers the fact that in most communities the public school teacher is overworked, it is difficult to expect any active participation in probation work of her. The best service she can render the probation office is care given the probationer in the schoolroom.

In the early history of all juvenile courts, it has been difficult to win the co-operation of the police. The purposes of the court differ so widely from what the average police officer believes to be the function of any court, that his attitude has been either one of open hostility or amusement. The successful court, however, wins over the police force and secures its co-operation. It is impossible to measure the real service which a sympathetic police force can render to a probation officer who has won the confidence of the man on the beat.

Report Day in the Denver Juvenile Court

Awaiting a Hearing at the Brooklyn Children's Court
(By permission of *The Survey*)

Chicago has assigned to the court thirty policemen who have discarded their uniforms. Formerly these men had to account for their time to the chief of police as well as to the chief probation officer. Now a committee of those detailed to the juvenile court acts with the chief probation officer, and all of them turn in a weekly report to the chief probation officer and are directly under him. Mr. Thurston feels that this co-operation with the police has great educational value. The right attitude toward the child on the part of some of the police force has stimulated others to follow.

St. Louis and Cleveland have the active co-operation and sympathy of the whole force; Louisville and Indianapolis utilize policemen in plain clothes for certain parts of the court's work. The service rendered has been most helpful.

As a matter of course, the truancy department of the public school system comes into close touch with the court, which is constantly recruited by truants. It is important, therefore, that there should be the closest co-operation between the probation office and the attendance or truant officer. In communities where there is no probation officer in the county, it is frequently possible to utilize the truant officer as a probation officer, and even in cities where there are both truant and probation officers the former should be commissioned as probation officers of the juvenile court, a practice which Chicago has found useful. A valuable paid working force may in this way be added to the probation office. The excellent results which have been gotten by the compulsory education department in Chicago have been due in large measure, it is said, to a close working arrangement between the department and the court.

In Cleveland the truant does not reach the court until the compulsory education department has exhausted every available resource, and if it is necessary to file a petition the truant officer is the complainant. Upon the hearing the written notice and copies of letters sent by the officer to the parent become part of the record in court. In St. Louis substantially the same method is followed.

Probably the most efficient voluntary organization affiliated with any juvenile court is the group of persons in Chicago who make up the Juvenile Court Committee and Juvenile Protective League. The account of the activities of these organizations as given elsewhere illustrates graphically the influence which it is possible for such a group of persons to exert.

The work done by the Juvenile Protective League of Chicago has stimulated similar work elsewhere and has furnished a helpful

adjunct to the court. Such an organization is the Legal Aid Society of Louisville, the outgrowth of work done by a committee of the Woman's Club. As the work of the committee grew it became necessary to organize a separate association, and this organization now maintains a paid superintendent with an office in the court house and co-operates with the juvenile court and the probation officer.

Many of the juvenile court laws provide for what is called a Board of Visitation, made up of volunteers. Unfortunately the duty of these boards is limited to the visitation of institutions, a power which in many states is an encroachment upon other state boards. The provisions of the law touching these boards in the main have been dead letters; in many places no appointments have been made and in others the appointees have done little or nothing. In a few instances only boards thus constituted have been active in working out with the judge the administrative side of the court. Wherever this has occurred the board has acted in an advisory capacity on many matters that have arisen, with the result that it has been possible to train the judge more and more to look to the board for guidance. It is quite possible through the agency of such boards to influence the court, the probation office and institutions receiving children from the court.

A few communities only have worked out in a satisfactory way a harmonious understanding with the institutions to which the court must of necessity commit children. Practically all of the institutions are organized under charters which vest in their respective boards power to determine the disposition of the child after it reaches the institution, and the court is, therefore, cut off by the letter of these laws from exercising any control over the child after commitment. In Chicago the court in entering its decree reserves jurisdiction for the purpose of entering other orders and in this way retains the power of release. The Illinois act of 1907 provides specifically that the court may order a committed child returned to its own home when the facts warrant it, provided ten days' notice of the application for the release of the child be given to the institution to which the child is committed, so that it may have an opportunity to be heard. Under the recent Missouri law the juvenile court retains jurisdiction over the child after commitment.

It has been possible in Cleveland and in Louisville to reach an understanding that is entirely satisfactory to the court and to the institution, and it would seem to offer the best solution of a much vexed question. The understanding is that no children received

through the court will be released by the institution without the sanction of the court, and that the institution will assent to applications for the release of children committed by the court, made to the institution by the court itself, the only condition precedent being that an investigation made before release must show that the conditions of the home are such that it is possible for the child to return to its parents. These investigations are made by the probation officer and submitted in writing to the court and to the institution.

The Cleveland court furnishes another interesting illustration of a close working arrangement between court and institution. The probation officer keeps in touch with boys paroled from the City Farm School and Boys' Industrial School and girls released from the Convent of the Good Shepherd. To the first two institutions bi-monthly reports are sent by the chief probation officer on the progress of the boys, giving in each case the name of the probation officer who made the investigation. The following will show in a general way the character of the report sent:

D. 2200————Avenue.
Lad doing well. Attends school regularly. C.

H. 1000————St.
Works at paperhanging. Position secured by Mr. L. Conduct is O. K. S.

P. 2000————Ave.
Working at————Tool Co.; earning about $1.30 per day. Home good. Conduct good. C.

Y. 7000————Ave.
Committed to State Hospital. L.

F. 2000————St.
Attending school. Father sent to workhouse for not supporting him. L.

R. 500————Ave.
Working at————Printing and Stationery Company at $3.00 per week. This is about the eighth position since Christmas, 1908. If he remains until Saturday he breaks the record—that will be two weeks in one place. Is saucy to his mother, though she says he is improving some.

600————St.
A. Lad is staying with grandfather,————City, Mich. Is at home on a short visit. B.

In the effort to emphasize the work of the court on its social side, Cleveland is doing certain other things that demand attention. The court last year heard approximately 1,600 cases. In all, however, 4,000 complaints were made to the probation officers, 2,400 of this number being disposed of without the intervention of the judge. In disposing of these unofficial cases, as they are called, the chief probation officer will in some cases bring the parent before him, go into the facts and secure an agreement whereby a probation officer will visit the child as in official cases. In other cases the mat-

ter will be cared for by a letter sent out by the chief probation officer in the following form:

CLEVELAND, O., Dec. 20th, 1909.

Mr. and Mrs.————
22 E.————St.,
City.

Dear Sir and Madam:

Complaint has been made at this court by your neighbor, Mr.————, to the effect that your son,————, has been annoying his children. We are not in position to determine as to whether or not he is justified in making such complaint, and suggest that you investigate the matter thoroughly. If you find his charges to be true, admonish your son as the situation may demand, thereby preventing any further action on the part of the court.

Yours very truly,
T. L. LEWIS,
Chief Probation Officer.

Still another class of cases is handled in this unofficial way. The court has an understanding with the private detectives of the larger department stores whereby children who are discovered taking articles from the store are sent home instead of being arrested, and the facts reported to the probation office on one of its regular blanks. The chief probation officer may then dispose of the case as an unofficial case in the manner pointed out above, or make an official case of it to be disposed of by the court. Careful records are kept of all unofficial cases, so that the facts may be available if the child should be brought into court subsequently.

It is not claimed that the unofficial disposition of cases is provided for under the juvenile court law; it is frankly admitted that there is no part of the law that authorizes it. The practice is justified on the ground that it enables the court to perform a most valuable social function in accomplishing all that a proceeding in court could do and at the same time protect the child.

The Cleveland court has been obliged in certain cases to assume the responsibility of placing boys and girls in country homes. Where the cases are such as to bring them within the rules of the Children's Aid Society they are disposed of as a matter of course by commitment to the society. In certain cases, however, it seemed to the court that temporary placement in the country offered the real solution of the problem, and the probation office began in 1906 to compile a list of investigated homes to be used as occasion arose. Since 1906 forty boys and seven girls have been cared for in this way.

They are visited at the expense of the court and between visits reports are received by the probation office. One of the seven girls has been placed in five different homes in an effort to find one in which she would be satisfied. The judge realizes that this particular work would be better done by some other agency co-operating with the court, but in the absence of such an agency it seems that a most valuable social service is being carried on.

It is impossible within the limits of this article to enumerate the various agencies in the community with which the court through the probation office must get into close touch if it would do the work which lies before it. If it be true that the great work in the upbuilding of the child begins when in the company of its probation officer it leaves the presence of the judge, then nothing in the community which makes for constructive preventive work should be overlooked by the probation office in reaching out for help. If the problem is to be solved, if the new day toward which we are striving for the child is to come, we must make a persistent effort to utilize to the full the church, the library, the playground, settlement, and every agency in the community that can help. A sane, conservative use of these forces under careful direction and supervision will hasten the time when the probation office will take a justifiable pride in the number of children it has kept out of court rather than in the number of cases on its docket.

In the several subjects considered in this article, an effort has been made to emphasize some of the positive results as well as some of the defects that experience has brought to light in working out the problem of the juvenile court. We are, after ten years, still moving along in a haphazard way in many particulars. Much confusion still exists in the minds of judges and lay workers as to the nature of the proceeding itself and the means by which the results may best be obtained. We take pride in the fact that we are not treating the child as a criminal, yet the reports of courts still deal with the child in terms of crime. The great need is for a more conservative attitude of mind toward the movement and more care in the means of working out the problem. It is possible to speak with reasonable certainty of the value of what have come to be regarded as essentials for the successful operation of the court. Experience on the other hand has shown that certain features heretofore relied upon are of doubtful value, and should be laid aside.

It is a mistake to insist, as we have done from the very beginning, on the work on its philanthropic side to the exclusion of its

legal aspect. Important as it is, the social side is but one phase. We have needlessly created the impression that the work has a remote connection only with previously established legal principles. The movement cannot permanently endure as a philanthropic device. It can only succeed when viewed as a court intimately bound up with the judicial machinery of the state. When one considers the legal questions that are present in the thousand cases that come before the juvenile court judge, it is idle to think of disposing of them in any other way than through the intervention of a court following, more or less faithfully, established principles of law. The wholesome restraint that a regard for legal principles puts upon the juvenile court judge in no way interferes with the solution of the problem before him, and in no way lessens the influence of the court socially.

A further pressing need is that the work of the court be standardized; that every phase of it conform as nearly as may be to what have come to be regarded as systematic, painstaking methods. There would seem to be no reason why the courts in the country could not agree substantially upon certain methods of conducting preliminary investigations, upon the forms to be used, the terminology to be employed, methods of keeping records so as to arrive at some comparative results. Surely it is possible to get together upon some basis that will make for more systematic and scientific methods. The need for it is as great as in the work of organized charity where it has been possible, in an increasing way, to bring order out of chaos.

Separate efforts have been made in some of the states to reach these results so far as the particular state is concerned. In New York and Massachusetts the state probation commissions have had conferences of probation officers and judges in order to reach a better understanding. In California the same thing has been done, and recently a conference of juvenile court workers from Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Kentucky, Pennsylvania and Michigan was held in Cincinnati. So far as reaching the courts in the country at large is concerned, no positive results have come from these conferences, but they are important as pointing out an urgent need and the means of meeting it.

It would be difficult to point to any field of endeavor that touches society so closely and upon which so much depends, in which so much undirected and unsupervised work is done. Under such conditions it is inevitable that much effort is wasted, that much is indifferently spent, and that some claims which are made for the work are not justified by results.

CHAPTER XIX

THE JUVENILE COURT AS A LEGAL INSTITUTION*

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THE past decade marks a revolution in the attitude of the state toward its offending children, not only in nearly every American commonwealth, but also throughout Europe, Australia, and some of the other lands. It is therefore indeed fitting that the members of this Bar Association should consider a problem, which, though juristically comparatively simple, is, in its social significance, of the greatest importance, for upon its wise solution depends the future of many of the rising generation. In our dealings with the mischievous and wayward children of today, we are sowing the seeds from which the next generation shall reap the harvest of good or of evil.

The legal questions, though not complicated, have, nevertheless, given rise to some discussion and to some slight dissent, from the standpoint of constitutional law.

The first thought which suggests itself in connection with the juvenile court is, what is there distinctively new about it. We are familiar with the conception that the state is the higher or the ultimate parent of all of the dependents within its borders. We know that, whatever may have been the historical origin of the practice, for over two centuries, as evidenced by judgments both of the House of Lords and of the Chancellors, the courts of chancery in England have exercised jurisdiction for the protection of the unfortunate child.

The proposition that the court of chancery could not act unless the infant had property, was declared by North, J., in re McGrath, 1892, 2 Ch. 496, to be wholly unsupported by either principle or authority. He added:

* A paper read before the American Bar Association at its Annual Meeting in 1909.

"In re Spence, 2 Ph. 247, Lord Chancellor Cottenham said: 'I have no doubt about the jurisdiction. The cases in which the court interferes on behalf of infants are not confined to those in which there is property. . . . This Court interferes for the protection of infants, qua infants, by virtue of the prerogative which belongs to the Crown as parens patriæ and the exercise of which is delegated to the great seal.' Again in Brown *v.* Collins, Mr. Justice Kay said: 'Undoubtedly we use the words 'Wards of Court' in such a case in rather a special sense. In one sense all British subjects who are infants are Wards of Court because they are subject to that sort of parental jurisdiction which is entrusted to the Court in this country, and which has been administered continuously by the Courts of Chancery Division. It may be exercised, as it has been in many cases, whether they have property or not.'"*

In the early case of Cowles *v.* Cowles, 3 Gilman 435, [1846], Caton, J., said:

"The power of the Court of Chancery to interfere with and control not only the estates but the persons of all minors within the limits of its jurisdiction, is of very ancient origin and cannot now be questioned. This is a power which must exist necessarily somewhere in every well regulated society and more especially in a republican government. A jurisdiction thus extensive and liable, as we have seen, to enter into the domestic relations of every family in the community, is necessarily of a very delicate and even of a very embarrassing nature; and yet its exercise is indispensable in every well governed society; it is indispensably necessary to protect the persons and preserve the property of those who are unable to protect and take care of themselves." And shortly thereafter in the case of Miner *v.* Miner, 11 Ill. 40, [1849], he enunciated the practically unanimous American doctrine that the parents' rights are always "subject to control by the Court of Chancery when the best interests of the child demand it."

Support was found for the contention that a property interest is essential to jurisdiction in the fact that, until comparatively recent times, the aid of the court in England was seldom sought except when the child had an independent fortune; but, as was said by Lord Eldon, whose decree in the Wellesley case, 2 Russ. 1, [1827],

* See also In re Flyn, 2 DeG. & Sm. 457; Brown *v.* Collins, 25 Ch. D. 56; In re Scanlan, 40 Ch. D. 200; In re Nevin, 1891, 2 Ch. 299; Barnardo *v.* McHugh, L. R. App. Cas. 388 (1891); In re W., 1907, 2 Ch. 557; In re H.'s settlement, 1909, 2 Ch. 260. Several of these cases involve only questions of religious education of the child.

was affirmed by the House of Lords (2 Bligh N. S. 124), "It is not from any want of jurisdiction that it does not act, but from a want of means to exercise its jurisdiction, because the court cannot take upon itself the maintenance of all the children in the Kingdom. It can exercise this jurisdiction fully and practically only where it has the means of applying property for the maintenance of the infant."

This want has now been met both through the extension of the parental obligations and through public grants of money or institutions for the support, maintenance and education of the children. The judges of the juvenile court, in exercising jurisdiction, have, in accordance with the most advanced philanthropic thought, recognized that the lack of proper home care can best be supplied by the true foster parent. Valuable as have been the orphan asylums of the civilized world, marked as has been the advance in recent years, particularly in this country, in their administration, in the more complete recognition of the individuality of the child, in the substitution of the country cottage homes for the congregate barrack-like city institutions, bringing with it a much closer approach to the normal home than has ever heretofore been accomplished, nevertheless, following the splendid lead of Massachusetts, greater effort is being put forth everywhere to solve the problem of the permanently dependent or neglected child by finding for it a foster home where it shall receive that individualized love and care that each one of us gives to and would always desire for his own little ones. The Children's Conference, called by President Roosevelt last February, and participated in by the leading juvenile court workers of the country, gave a fresh impetus to this modern growing home-finding movement.

While in most jurisdictions the juvenile court laws make provision for the dependent as well as the neglected, the truant and the delinquent child, some of the best workers in this field have objected to a court having anything to do with the strictly dependent child, the child whose parents must ask assistance, merely because of poverty or misfortune. If friends or the church fail to supply the necessary help, and the aid of the state is to be sought, it should be granted through poor law or relief commissioners.

The remedy for the saddest cases that too often come before the court, the dependent children of a woman suddenly deprived of the support of her husband by death or disease, and unable to bear her heavy burden unaided, is not the disintegration of the family through adoption or boarding out, but either private or public

assistance that will enable the able and worthy mother to keep her family together.

The court should be called upon to act only in the case of a persistent truant, or a victim of neglect or wrong-doing, either on the part of others or of itself. It is particularly in dealing with those children who have broken the law, or who are leading the kind of life which will inevitably result in such breach, that the new and distinctive features of the juvenile court legislation appear.

Our common criminal law did not differentiate between the adult and the minor who had reached the age of criminal responsibility, seven at common law and in some of our states, ten in others, with a chance of escape up to twelve, if lacking in mental and moral maturity. The majesty and dignity of the state demanded vindication for infractions from both alike. The fundamental thought in our criminal jurisprudence was not, and in most jurisdictions is not, reformation of the criminal, but punishment; punishment as expiation for the wrong, punishment as a warning to other possible wrong-doers. The child was arrested, put into prison, indicted by the grand jury, tried by a petit jury, under all the forms and technicalities of our criminal law, with the aim of ascertaining whether it had done the specific act—nothing else—and if it had, then of visiting the punishment of the state upon it.

It is true that during the last century ameliorating influences mitigated the severity of the old régime; in the last fifty years our reformatories have played a great and very beneficent part in dealing with juvenile offenders. They supplanted the penitentiary. In them, the endeavor was made, while punishing, to reform, to build up, to educate the prisoner so that when his time should have expired, he could go out into the world, capable at least of making an honest living. And in course of time, in some jurisdictions, the youths were separated from the older offenders even in stations, jails and workhouses; but, nevertheless, generally in this country, the two classes were huddled together. What was the result of it all? Instead of the state training its bad boys so as to make of them decent citizens, it permitted them to become the outlaws and outcasts of society; it criminalized them by the methods that it used in dealing with them. It did not aim to find out what the accused's history was, what his heredity, his environments, his associations; it did not ask how he had come to do the particular act which had brought him before the court; it put but one question, "Has he committed this crime?" It did not inquire, "What is the best thing to do for this lad?" It did not

even punish him in a manner that would tend to improve him; the punishment was visited in proportion to the degree of wrong-doing evidenced by the single act; not by the needs of the boy, not by the needs of the state. And when some of the good women of Chicago saw these lads of ten and twelve and fifteen in great numbers filling the county jail, receiving no training and no education, mingling with the adult criminals, the vagabonds, the harlots and the drunkards, both before and after trial, being daily contaminated physically and morally, they at first secured some measure of segregation; then they employed teachers for them and finally they influenced the board of education to establish a public school in the House of Correction. Soon they said to themselves: "If this is good work, why isn't it better to keep these boys and girls away from this sort of a place altogether? Why isn't it just and proper to treat these juvenile offenders as we deal with the neglected children, as a wise and merciful father handles his own child whose errors are not discovered by the authorities? Why isn't it the duty of the state instead of asking merely whether a boy or a girl has committed a specific offense, to find out what he is, physically, mentally, morally, and then, if it learns that he is treading the path that leads to criminality, to take him in charge, not so much to punish as to reform, not to degrade but to uplift, not to crush but to develop, not to make him a criminal but a worthy citizen."

And it is this thought—the thought that the child who has begun to go wrong, who is incorrigible, who has broken a law or an ordinance, is to be taken in hand by the state not as an enemy but as a protector, as the ultimate guardian, because either the unwillingness or inability of the natural parents to guide it toward good citizenship has compelled the intervention of the public authorities; it is this principle, which to some extent therefore applied in Australia and a few American states, was first fully and clearly declared, in the act under which the Juvenile Court of Cook County, Illinois, was opened in Chicago on July 1, 1899, the Hon. R. S. Tuthill presiding. Colorado followed soon after, and since that time similar legislation has been adopted in over thirty American jurisdictions, as well as in Great Britain and Ireland, Canada and the Australian colonies. In continental Europe and also in Asia, the American juvenile courts have been the object of most careful study, and either by parliamentary or administrative measures, similar courts have been established, or at least some of their guiding principles have been enforced.

The Lord Advocate of Scotland, in the course of debate on that sweeping reformation and consolidation of the laws relating to children, justly called the Children's Charter, that became effective April 1, 1909, stated (Hansard, Parl. Deb. 4th series, v. 186, p. 1251) that:

"There was a time in the history of this House when a bill of this kind would have been treated as a most revolutionary measure, and half a century ago, if such a measure had been introduced it would have been said that the British constitution was being undermined."

That era has, I trust, passed away forever.

Juvenile court legislation has assumed two aspects. In Great Britain, in New York and in a few other jurisdictions, the protection is accomplished by suspending sentence and releasing the child but under probation, or, in case of removal from the home, sending it to a school instead of to a jail or penitentiary. The criminal proceeding remains, however. The child is charged with the commission of a definite offense, of which it must be found either guilty or not guilty. If not guilty of the one certain act, it is discharged, however much it may need care or supervision. If guilty, it is then dealt with, but as a criminal. And this would seem to be true even under the New York statute of May 25, 1909, which provides that:

"A child of more than seven and less than sixteen years of age, who shall commit any act or omission, which, if committed by an adult, would be a crime not punishable by death or life imprisonment, shall not be deemed guilty of any crime, but of juvenile delinquency only. . . . Any child charged with any act or omission which may render him guilty of juvenile delinquency shall be dealt with in the same manner as now is or may hereafter be provided in the case of adults charged with the same act or omission, except as specially provided heretofore in the case of children under the age of sixteen years."

This would seem to effectuate merely a change in the name of every crime or offense from that by which it was theretofore known, to the crime of juvenile delinquency. Beyond question, much good may be accomplished under such legislation, dependent upon the spirit in which it is carried out, particularly if, as the English act provides, the conviction should not be regarded as a conviction of felony for the purposes of any of the disqualifications attached to felony.

But in Illinois, and following the lead of Illinois, in most juris-

dictions, the form of procedure is totally different and wisely so. It would seem to be obvious that, if the common law could fix the age of criminal responsibility at seven, and if the legislature could advance that age to ten or twelve, it can also raise it to sixteen or seventeen or eighteen; and that is what, in some measure, has been done. Under most of the juvenile court laws, a child under the designated age is to be proceeded against as a criminal only when in the judgment of the judge of the juvenile court, either as to any child or in some states as to one fourteen or one sixteen years of age, the interests of the state and of the child require that this be done. It is to be observed that the language of the law should be explicit in order to negative the jurisdiction of the criminal courts in the first instance. In the absence of such express provision, the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, in State *v.* Burt, 71 Atlantic Reporter 30, [1908], recently upheld a criminal conviction. On the other hand, the Supreme Court of Louisiana has just decided in the case of State *v.* Reed, 49 Southern Reporter 3, [1909], that a criminal proceeding against one within the age limit must be quashed and the case transferred to the juvenile court.

To get away from the notion that the child is to be dealt with as a criminal; to save it from the brand of criminality, the brand that sticks to it for life; to take it in hand and instead of first stigmatizing and then reforming it, to protect it from the stigma; this is the work which is now being accomplished, by dealing, even with most of the delinquent children, through the court that represents the *parens patriæ* power of the state, the court of chancery.

Proceedings are brought to have a guardian or representative of the state appointed to look after the child, to have the state intervene between the natural parent and the child because the child needs it, as evidenced by some of its acts, and because the parent is either unwilling (in that case it is pretty clear) or unable to train the child properly.

Objection has been made from time to time that this is nevertheless a criminal proceeding, and that therefore the child is entitled to a trial by jury and to all the constitutional rights that hedge about the criminal.

Let me quote briefly from a few of the answers that have been given by the supreme courts of our states to this objection:

In Commonwealth *v.* Fisher, 213 Pa. St. 48, 62 Atl. 198, [1905], the court says:

"To save a child from becoming a criminal, or from continu-

ing in a career of crime, to end in maturer years in public punishment and disgrace, the legislature surely may provide for the salvation of such a child, if its parents or guardian be unable or unwilling to do so, by bringing it into one of the courts of the state without any process at all, for the purpose of subjecting it to the state's guardianship and protection.

"The action is not for the trial of a child charged with a crime, but is mercifully to save it from such an ordeal, with the prison or penitentiary in its wake, if the child's own good and the best interests of the state justify such salvation. Whether the child deserves to be saved by the state is no more a question for a jury than whether the father, if able to save it, ought to save it. The act is but an exercise by the state of its supreme power over the welfare of its children, a power under which it can take a child from its father, and let it go where it will, without committing it to any guardianship or any institution, if the welfare of the child, taking its age into consideration, can be thus best promoted.

"The design is not punishment, nor the restraint imprisonment, any more than is the wholesome restraint which a parent exercises over his child. The severity in either case must necessarily be tempered to meet the necessities of the particular situation. There is no probability, in the proper administration of the law, of the child's liberty being unduly invaded. Every statute which is designed to give protection, care and training to children, as a needed substitute for parental authority, and performance of parental duty, is but a recognition of the duty of the state, as the legitimate guardian and protector of children where other guardianship fails. No constitutional right is violated."

In one of the most recent decisions, ex parte Sharp, 15 Idaho 120, 96 Pac. 563, [1908], the Supreme Court of Idaho thus refers to the juvenile court:

"Its object is to confer a benefit both upon the child and the community in the way of surrounding the child with better and more elevating influences, and of educating and training him in the direction of good citizenship, and thereby saving him to society and adding a good and useful citizen to the community. This, too, is done for the minor at a time when he is not entitled, either by natural law or the laws of the land, to his absolute freedom, but rather at a time when he is subject to the restraint and custody of either a natural guardian or a legally constituted and appointed guardian to whom he owes obedience and subjection. Under this

law the state, for the time being, assumes to discharge the parental duty and to direct his custody and assume his restraint.

"It would be carrying the protection of 'inalienable rights,' guaranteed by the Constitution, a long way to say that that guaranty extends to a free and unlimited exercise of the whims, caprices, or proclivities of either a child or its parents or guardians for idleness, ignorance, crime, indigence, or any kindred dispositions or inclinations."

Years ago, in considering the power of the court to send a child to the house of refuge, Chief Justice Gibson said, in ex parte Crouse, 4 Wharton 9, [1838]:

"May not the natural parents, when unequal to the task of education, or unworthy of it, be superseded by the *parens patriæ*, or common guardian of the community? It is to be remembered that the public has a paramount interest in the virtue and knowledge of its members, and that of strict right, the business of education belongs to it. That parents are ordinarily entrusted with it, is because it can seldom be put in better hands; but where they are incompetent or corrupt, what is there to prevent the public from withdrawing their faculties, held as they obviously are, at its sufferance? The right of parental control is a natural, but not an inalienable one. It is not excepted by the declaration of rights out of the subjects of ordinary legislation."

Care must, however, be taken not to provide for dealing with the child as a criminal. The City of Detroit lacked for a time a juvenile court, as the result of the decision in Robinson *v.* Wayne Circuit Judges, 151 Mich. 315, 115 N. W. 682, [1908]. The Supreme Court of Michigan, following the cases cited and numerous others, overruled many objections urged against the constitutionality of the Detroit juvenile court act, but nevertheless held it invalid, saying:

"The statute, it is true, declares that the proceedings shall not be taken to be criminal proceedings in any sense; and yet by section 14 it is provided that if the child be adjudged a delinquent child, the court may place the case on trial, and impose a fine not to exceed $25.00, with costs, etc. This can have no other purpose than punishment for a delinquency, which means nothing less, or at least includes one who violates any law of this state or any city ordinance.

"In the present case, however, this statute is a state law providing for a penalty. A complaint, an arrest, and trial are authorized, and, upon a determination, the imposition of a fine. It is difficult to conceive of any element of a criminal prosecution which may be

said to be lacking. And, as Section 28 of Article VI of the Constitution very plainly provides for a jury of twelve men in all courts of record in every criminal prosecution, the provisions for a jury of six for the trial of delinquents is in violation of this section."

Further legislation has now corrected this defect.

In answer to the objection that the act has the effect of depriving a parent of the custody of his child in violation of his constitutional rights, the Supreme Court of Idaho, in ex parte Sharp (supra), says:

"If the parent objects to the child's being taken care of by the state in the manner provided for by the act, he may appear and present his objections. If, on the other hand, he is not made a party to the hearing and proceeding, under all the recognized rules of legal procedure, he is clearly not bound by the judgment, and none of his rights are precluded.

"The parent or guardian cannot be bound by the order or judgment of the probate court in adjudging a child delinquent and sending him to the Industrial Training School unless he has appeared or been brought into the proceeding in the probate court."

The Supreme Court of Utah, in Mill *v.* Brown, 88 Pac. 609, [1907], emphasized this requirement when it said:

"Before the state can be substituted to the right of the parent, it must affirmatively be made to appear that the parent has forfeited his natural and legal right to the custody and control of the child by reason of his failure, inability, neglect, or incompetency to discharge the duty and thus to enjoy the right.

"Unless, therefore, both the delinquency of the child and the incompetency, for any reason, of the parent concur, and are so found, the court exceeds its power when committing a child to any of the institutions contemplated by the act."

It is therefore important to provide, as has been done in the most recent statutes, but as was not done in the earlier acts, that the parents be made parties to the proceedings, and that they be given an opportunity to be heard therein in defense of their parental rights.

The Supreme Court of Illinois, however, in the case of People ex rel. Schwartz *v.* McLain, 38 Chicago Legal News, 166, [1905], struck a discordant note, in a decision releasing the child from the State Training School for Boys. Subsequently, however, it granted a re-hearing, and, because of the discontinuance thereafter of the habeas corpus proceedings, rendered no final judgment in the cause.

In the original opinion, however, which we may, in view of the rehearing, regard as retracted, the court, while upholding the constitutionality of the juvenile court law in case of a child whose parents actively contributed to its wrong-doing, said:

"If this enactment is effective and capable of being enforced as against the relator, father of the boy, it must be upon the theory that it is within the power of the state to seize any child under the age of sixteen years who has committed a misdemeanor, though the father may have always provided a comfortable, quiet, orderly and moral home for him, and have supplied him with school facilities, had not neglected his moral training, and had been and was still ready to render him all the duties of a parent. We do not think it is within the power of the General Assembly to thus infringe upon parental rights."

The answer to this, made by counsel on the argument on rehearing, would seem to be conclusive, They said:

"The boy incorrigible at home must be corrected by the state. Whether this correction be by fine, imprisonment, or commitment to school, is a matter which does belong to the legislature and not to this court to determine.

"This law applies, with equal force, to the son of the pauper and the millionaire, to the minister's son (who is sometimes the wolf among the flock), as well as to the son of the convict and the criminal. The circumstances and disposition of the parents are not the test by which the state measures its power over the child; the right of the parent to retain the society and the services of the child is rightfully suspended when the parent is *unsuccessful* in keeping the child in a state of obedience to the criminal law of the state; he cannot keep his child and allow him to continue to violate the law of the state without successful check or barrier thereon, just because he has a comfortable and moral home.

"The manner in which the power of the state shall be exercised, and the extent to which the deprivation of the parent shall go, is a matter for the determination of the legislature, and the legislature by this act has confided it to a court of chancery, where the parental power of the state has been lodged and exercised from time immemorial."

They quote, too, the passage heretofore cited from the decision of Chief Justice Gibson, in ex parte Crouse (supra), with this addition:

"The right of parental control is a natural but not an inalienable one. It is not excepted by the Declaration of Rights out of the

subjects of ordinary legislation, and it *consequently remains subject to the ordinary legislative power*, which if wantonly or inconveniently used, would soon be constitutionally restricted, but *the competency of which, as the government is constituted, cannot be doubted.*"

One more legal question remains. In a decision, characterized by the supreme court of Michigan in the Robinson case (supra) as "now chiefly notable as an example of the vigor with which that which is not the law may be stated," the supreme court of Illinois, in People ex rel. Turner, 55 Ill. 280, [1870], released a child from the reformatory on the ground that the reformatory was a prison; that incarceration therein was necessarily punishment for a crime, and that such a punishment could be inflicted only after criminal proceedings conducted with due regard to the constitutional rights of the defendant. Whether the criticism be just or not, the case suggests a real truth, and one which, in the enthusiastic progress of the juvenile court movement, is in danger of being overlooked. If a child must be taken away from its home, if for the natural parental care that of the state is to be substituted, a real school, not a prison in disguise, must be provided. And here again Massachusetts is taking a noble lead. Even for the delinquent child, it is meeting with considerable success, in securing foster or boarding home at the cost, if necessary, of the state. Of course, many delinquent children are, at least in the beginning, totally unfitted so to be placed, and for them a preliminary training in an industrial school is necessary. But whether the institutional life be only temporary until a foster home can be found, or for a longer period until the child can be restored to its own home or be given its complete freedom, the state must, both to avoid the constitutional objections suggested by the Turner case, and in fulfillment of its moral obligation to the child, furnish the proper care. This cannot be done in one great building, with a single dormitory for all of the two or three or four hundred or more children, in which there will be no possibility of classification along the lines of age or degrees of delinquency, in which there will be no individualized attention. What is needed is a large area, preferably in the country, because these children require the fresh air and contact with the soil even more than does the normal child; laid out on the cottage plan, giving opportunity for family life—and the smaller the unit, the better, for ten rather than for twenty, for twenty rather than for fifty; and in each cottage, some good man and woman who will live with and for the children. Red tape and a series of "don'ts" must yield to simplicity and continual encouragement. Locks and bars,

and other indicia of prisons must be avoided; human love, supplemented by human interest and vigilance, must replace them. In such schools there must be opportunity for agricultural and industrial training, so that when the boys and girls come out they will be fitted to do a man's or woman's work in the world, and not be merely a helpless lot, drifting aimlessly about. Some states have begun to supply this need. I know of no better study of this problem than that contained in the report of the commission to select a site for the New York State Training School for Boys, submitted to the legislature, April 28, 1909, and published as N. Y. Senate Document No. 39. But despite the great ultimate financial saving to the state through this method of dealing with children, a saving represented by the value of a decent citizen as against a criminal, the public authorities are nowhere fully alive to the new obligations that the spirit as well as the letter of this legislation imposes upon them. It has, however, been specifically provided in Canada that before the Dominion act shall be put into force in any province, the governor-in-council must be satisfied, among other things, that an industrial school, as defined by the act, exists, to which juvenile delinquents may be committed.

Private philanthropy doubtless will in the future as in the past, supplement the work of the state in providing for the delinquents. To a large extent, it is denominational, though many organizations are non-sectarian. None have accomplished more good or give promise of greater continued usefulness than the George Junior Republics and similar organizations, such as Allendale Farm, near Chicago, that stand for self-government, self-reliance, and redemption through honest labor.

Mr. Herbert Samuels, in introducing his excellent Children's Bill, said (Hansard, 4th ser., v. 183, p. 1434), in reference to that part of it which has to do with juvenile offenders, that it is based on three main principles:

"The first is that the child offender ought to be kept separate from the adult criminal, and should receive at the hands of the law a treatment differentiated to suit his special needs—that the courts should be agencies for the rescue as well as the punishment of children. We require the establishment through the country of juvenile courts—that is to say, children's cases shall be heard in a court held in a separate room or at a separate time from the courts which are held for adult cases, and that the public who are not concerned in the cases shall be excluded from admission.

"In London we propose to appoint by administrative action a special children's magistrate to visit in turn a circuit of courts. Further, we require police authorities throughout the whole of the country to establish places of detention to which children shall be committed on arrest, if they are not bailed, and on remand or commitment for trial, instead of being committed to prison.

"The second principle on which this bill is based is that the parent of the child offender must be made to feel more responsible for the wrong-doing of his child. He cannot be allowed to neglect the upbringing of his children, and having committed the grave offense of throwing on society a child criminal, wash his hands of the consequences and escape scot free. We require the attendance in court of the parent in all cases where the child is charged, where there is no valid reason to the contrary, and we considerably enlarge the powers, already conferred upon the magistrates by the Youthful Offenders Act of 1901, to require the parent, where it is just to do so, to pay the fines inflicted for the offense which his child has committed.

"The third principle which we had in view in framing this part of the Bill is that the commitment of children in the common gaols, no matter what the offense may be that is committed, is an unsuitable penalty to impose. After consultation with many of the chief judicial and legal authorities, the Government has come to the conclusion that the time has now arrived when Parliament can be asked to abolish the imprisonment of children altogether, and we extend this proposal to the age of sixteen with a few carefully defined and necessary exceptions."

To these should, however, be added, as the fourth principle, that taking a child away from its parents and sending it even to an industrial school is as far as possible to be avoided; and as the fifth and most important principle, that when it is allowed to return home, it must be under probation, subject to the guidance and friendly interest of the probation officer, the representative of the court. To raise the age of criminal responsibility from seven or ten to sixteen or eighteen, without providing for an efficient system of probation, would indeed be disastrous. Probation is, in fact, the keynote of juvenile court legislation.

As Judge Heuisler, of Baltimore, has well said:*

"The work of the children's courts must be done in the children's homes. No temporary veneer put upon the child by the most sympathetic judge, by reason of either counsel, suggestion, or threat,

*Charities, Nov. 7, 1903.

can be availing, if after the process the subject is sent back *alone* and again into the same experiences because of which his trouble was occasioned. The work must be carried into the home and the hearts of the boy and of his people. Not the offense alone must pass under the observation of the court, but the temptation, the lack of opportunity, the bad examples, all the inducing causes of the offense must be discovered, and when discovered rooted out. The youth must be ruled with kindness and suggestion; be made to understand the meaning of home and law and necessary discipline. He should be told that be he but a child today, he is the man of the coming morrow. His quickening intelligence, his hopes, his ambitions must be appealed to, and his response is almost certain.

"The voice of pity and compassion must reach him in his home, and reach his parents also in his home. Down to the very depths of that home must it go—the probation system must recognize that in the moral as in the material world, the rain and the sunshine of pity and compassion are for the roots of the plant as well as its flowers."

But even in this, there is nothing radically new. Massachusetts has had probation, not only in the case of minors, but even in the case of adults, for nearly forty years, and several other states now have provisions for the suspension of a criminal sentence in the case of adults, permitting the defendant to go free, but subject to the control of a probation officer. Wherever juvenile courts have been established, a system of probation has been provided for, and even where as yet the juvenile court system has not been fully developed, some steps have been taken to substitute probation for imprisonment of juvenile offenders.

In some jurisdictions the court appoints probation officers and in others they are selected through civil service examinations. In the early statutes, no provision was made for payment of salaries by the state or county. This is now generally changed without prejudice, however, to the right of the judge to appoint volunteers for the work. With New York and Massachusetts as leaders, commissions have been appointed in some states, charged with the duty of regulating and overseeing the probation work of the officers, a measure essential both for efficiency and for uniformity in method.

Most of the children who come before the court are, naturally, the children of the poor. In many cases, the parents are foreigners, frequently unable to speak English. These poor people have not been able to give to their offspring the opportunities and the supervision that many children enjoy. The parents often do not under-

stand our American methods and views. What they need, more than anything else, is kindly assistance; and the aim of the court, in appointing a probation officer for the child, is to have the child and the parents feel, not so much the power, as the friendly interest of the state; to show them that the object of the court is to help them to train the child right; and therefore the probation officers must be men and women fitted for these tasks.

Their duties are oftentimes of the most delicate nature. Tact, forbearance and sympathy with the child, as well as a full appreciation of the difficulties that the poorer classes, and especially the immigrants, are confronted with in our large cities, are indispensable. The New York Probation Commission say, in their second annual report for the year 1908, p. 32:

"In courts where the probation system is most effectively conducted there is great variety in the work done by probation officers. The most successful workers regard the receiving of reports from probationers as much less important than the visiting and other work done by the probation officers. The probation officers obtaining the best results enter into intimate friendly relations with their probationers, and bring into play as many factors as possible, such as, for instance, securing employment for their probationers, readjusting family difficulties, securing medical treatment or charity if necessary, interesting helpful friends and relatives, getting the co-operation of churches, social settlements and various other organizations, encouraging probationers to start bank accounts, to keep better hours, to associate with better companions, and so forth."

Mr. Homer Folks, chairman of this commission, and perhaps the leading authority in the country on child-saving work, put the matter well when he said: *

"It is the personal influence of the probation officer, going into the child's home, studying the surroundings and influences that are shaping the child's career, discovering the processes which have been exercising an unwholesome influence, and, so far as possible, remedying these conditions—this is the very essence of the probation system. The friendly side of the probation officer's work is its important side. His duty is by no means simply that of securing information for the court as to the child's conduct, but that of securing reformation. He is not to be a dispassionate observer, but an active influence. Without such work on the part of probation officers, without probation officers qualified to conduct such work

* Conference of Charities and Correction, 1906, p. 117.

and to carry it on consistently and without intermission, the court is practically helpless. . . .

"The probation system is really a new way of treating offenders. It provides a new kind of reformatory, without walls and without much of coercion, but nevertheless seeking to bring to bear upon each child the influences which will make for his betterment, and seeking to provide for him, so far as possible in his own home, opportunities and facilities for education and discipline, which we have heretofore provided only in an institution. . . .

"The work of the probation officers must therefore begin, if it does not begin earlier, the very moment the child leaves the court. It must utilize to the fullest degree whatever advantages there are in the shock caused by apprehension of the child, by the court proceedings and the judge's counsel. It must, by force of personal influence, and in whatever ways may be possible, build up a strong influence in the home of the child."

While the paid, trained worker is today recognized as essential in all fields of philanthropy, nevertheless, to obtain the fullest measure of success, the active co-operation of the charitably inclined, as volunteer assistants, must be secured, particularly in our large cities where the authorities have been disinclined to provide for a sufficient number of paid probation officers, with the result that there are frequently assigned from one to two hundred cases to the officer of a district—far too many for one man or woman to care for thoroughly.

If for every boy and girl that comes into court, there can be found one real friend, imbued with the spirit of human brotherhood—a phrase that passes our lips so readily but is achieved in the lives of so few of us—willing to give, not that which is so easy for anyone who has a surplus above his needs, money, but that which is hardest for most of us to part with, our time, our thought; who will occasionally take the lad into his own home, or with his own boys to the ball game or to the theater; who will help him to find a job, who will be genuinely interested in him and in seeing that his father and his mother do their duty toward him, the problems of the court will be well-nigh solved.

In a number of communities, juvenile court committees have been formed by public-spirited citizens for the purpose of conferring with the probation officers, assisting in and co-ordinating their work, helping the judge, and where the public authorities fail to provide paid probation officers, supplying the necessary funds. In

this way, the probation officer is not left to his or her unaided judgment and effort in the performance of these most difficult and delicate tasks. Moreover, supervision is secured for the work, and the danger of its running into ruts and becoming perfunctory is checked.

Just a few words about the actual court procedure and practice. In the first place, the number of arrests is greatly decreased. The child and the parents are notified to appear in court and unless the danger of escape is great, or the offense very serious, or the home totally unfit for the child, detention before hearing is unnecessary. Children are permitted to go on their own recognizance or that of their parents, or on giving bail. Probation officers should be, and often are, authorized to act in this respect. If, however, it becomes necessary to detain the children either before a hearing or pending a continuance, or even after the adjudication, before they can be admitted into the home or institution to which they are to be sent, they are no longer kept in prisons or jails, but in detention homes. In some states the laws are mandatory that the local authorities provide such homes, managed in accordance with the spirit of this legislation. They are feasible even in the smallest communities, inasmuch as the simplest kind of building best meets the need. In this building the court may be held, as is done in some of the larger cities.

The jurisdiction to hear the cases is generally granted to an existing court having full equity powers. In some cities, however, special courts have been provided, with judges devoting their entire time to this work. If these special courts can be constitutionally vested with full and complete chancery and criminal jurisdiction, much is to be said in favor of their establishment. In the large cities particularly, the entire time of one judge may well be needed. It has been suggested from time to time that all of the judges of the municipal or special sessions courts be empowered to act in these cases, but while it would be valuable in metropolitan communities to have more than one detention home, more than one court house, nevertheless it would seem to be even more important to have a single juvenile court judge. The British government has adopted this policy for London. Mr. Herbert Samuels stated (Hansard, 4th ser., v. 186, p. 1298), during the debate on the Children's Act:

"It is impossible to bring all the children, witnesses, parents, probation officers and other persons concerned into one central court. The best course will be to establish four places of detention in different parts of London. . . . I hope it will be practicable

in these places to provide rooms, without any additional cost or very small additional cost, which can be used as court houses. The children's magistrate could visit in turn these four houses. . . . The result would be that a certain number of children would be kept over night sometimes, when they could not be released on bail; but all those that I have consulted agreed . . . it is better to keep, if necessary, a small number of children in detention for one night than to forego the great benefit of having a special magistrate to deal with these cases."

By the Colorado act of 1909, provision is made for hearings before masters in chancery, designated as Masters of Discipline, to be appointed by the juvenile court judge and to act under his direction. This may prove to be the best solution of a difficult problem, combining as it does the possibility of a quick disposition of the simpler cases in many sections of a large city or county, with a unity of administration through the supervisory power of a single judge.

The personality of the judge is an all-important matter. The supreme court of Utah, in the case of Mill *v.* Brown (supra), commenting upon the choice of a layman, a man genuinely interested in children, pointed out that:

"To administer juvenile laws in accordance with their true spirit and intent requires a man of broad mind, of almost infinite patience, and one who is the possessor of great faith in humanity and thoroughly imbued with that spirit.

"The judge of any court, and especially a judge of a juvenile court, should be willing at all times, not only to respect, but to maintain and preserve, the legal and natural rights of men and children alike. . . . The fact that the American system of government is controlled and directed by laws, not men, cannot be too often or too strongly impressed upon those who administer any branch or part of the government. Where a proper spirit and good judgment are followed as a guide, oppression can and will be avoided. . . .

"The juvenile court law is of such vast importance to the state and society that it seems to us it should be administered by those who are learned in the law and versed in the rules of procedure, to the end that the beneficent purposes of the law may be made effective and individual rights respected. Care must be exercised in both the selection of a judge and in the administration of the law."

The decision but emphasizes the dangers that beset the path of the judge of the juvenile court. The public at large, sympathetic

with the work, and even the probation officers who are not lawyers, regard him as one having almost autocratic power. Because of the extent of his jurisdiction and the tremendous responsibility that it entails, it is, in my judgment, absolutely essential that he be a trained lawyer, thoroughly imbued with the doctrine that ours is "a government of laws and not of men."

He must, however, be more than this. He must be a student of and deeply interested in the problems of philanthropy and child life as well as a lover of children. He must be able to understand the boy's point of view and ideas of justice; he must be patient, and willing to search out the underlying causes of the trouble and to formulate the plan by which, through the co-operation, ofttimes of many agencies, the cure may be effected.

In some very important jurisdictions, the vicious practice is indulged in of assigning a different judge to the juvenile court work every month or every three months. It is impossible for these judges to gain the necessary experience or to devote the necessary time to the study of the new problems. The service should under no circumstances be for less than one year, and preferably for a longer period. In some of our cities, notably in Denver, the judge has discharged not only the judicial functions, but also those of the most efficient probation officer. Judge Lindsey's love for the work and his personality have enabled him to exert a powerful influence on the boys and girls that are brought before him. While doubtless the best results can be obtained in such a court, lack of time would prevent a judge in the largest cities from adding this to his strictly judicial duties, even were it not extremely difficult to find the necessary combination of elements united in one man.

The problem for determination by the judge is not, has this boy or girl committed a specific wrong, but what is he, how has he become what he is, and what had best be done in his interest and in the interest of the state to save him from a downward career? It is apparent at once that the ordinary legal evidence in a criminal court is not the sort of evidence to be heard in such a proceeding. A thorough investigation, usually made by the probation officer, will give the court much information bearing on the heredity and environment of the child. This, of course, will be supplemented in every possible way; but this alone is not enough. The physical and mental condition of the child must be known, and it is therefore of the utmost importance that there be attached to the court, as has been done in a few cities, a child-study department, where every

child, before hearing, shall be subject to a thoroughly scientific psycho-physical examination.

The relation between physical defects and criminality is a very close one. Take the boy suffering with adenoid growths, whose parents, through ignorance or neglect, know nothing about it; he can not breathe properly; his nerves are affected; he can not sit still; the school-room has too many pupils for one teacher (that is the trouble with all our public schools); a lack of harmony follows—what is more natural than that that boy should "play hookey"? And truancy is often the first step toward a career of criminality. In hundreds and thousands of cases the discovery and remedy of defective eyesight, or hearing, or some slight surgical operation will effect a complete change in the character of the lad.

The child who must be brought into court should, of course, be made to know that he is face to face with the power of the state, but he should at the same time and more emphatically be made to feel that he is the object of its tender care and solicitude. The ordinary trappings of the court room are out of place in such hearings. The judge on a bench, looking down upon the boy standing at the bar, can never evoke a proper sympathetic spirit. Seated at a desk, with the little one at his side, where he can on occasion put his arm around his shoulder and draw the lad to him, the judge, while losing none of his judicial dignity, will gain immensely in the effectiveness of his work.

It is, however, of far greater importance to keep children out of any court, than to bring them even into the juvenile court. In many communities, the influence of the probation officers in their immediate surroundings has been such that they have become arbiters of the petty disputes and quarrels that in former years brought not only the children but their parents into conflict and into court.

The object of the juvenile court and of the intervention of the state is, of course, in no case to lessen or to weaken the sense of responsibility either of the child or of the parent. On the contrary, the aim is to develop and to enforce it. Therefore, it is wisely provided in most of the recent acts that the child may be compelled when on probation, if of working age, to make restitution for any damage done by it. Moreover, the parents may not only be compelled to contribute to the support even of the children who are taken away from them and sent to institutions, but since the Colorado Act of 1903, they, as well as any other adults, may be made criminally

liable for their acts or neglect contributing to a child's dependency or delinquency. In most of the jurisdictions which have established separate juvenile courts, as well as in some of the others, all criminal cases affecting children are tried by the juvenile court judge. In drafting legislation of this kind, however, it must not be overlooked that if the proceedings against the adult are criminal, his constitutional rights must be carefully safeguarded. Following general principles, such penal acts are strictly construed, and therefore in the recent case of Gibson *v.* People, 99 Pac. 333, [1909], the Colorado supreme court limited the application of the act of 1903 to the parents and those standing in a parental relation to the child. Colorado, in 1907, however, as well as several other states, expressly extended the scope of such statutes so as to include any person, whether standing in *loco parentis* or not. The supreme court of Oregon in State *v.* Dunn, 99 Pac. 278, [1909], construed such legislation to refer only to misconduct not otherwise punishable.

Kentucky, in 1908, followed by Colorado in 1909, has enacted a statute drafted by Mr. Bernard Flexner, of Louisville,—one of the few prominent members of the bar who have taken a profound and active interest in the work of the juvenile court, and to whom I am greatly indebted for assistance in securing material for this paper,—providing for the enforcement of parental obligations, not in the criminal but in the chancery branch of the juvenile court. A decree not merely for the payment of support money, but for the performance or omission of such acts, as under the circumstances of the case are found necessary, may be enforced by contempt proceedings.*

Valuable, however, as is the introduction of the juvenile court into our system of jurisprudence, valuable both in its effect upon the child, the parents and the community at large, and in the great material saving to the state which the substitution of probation for imprisonment has brought about, nevertheless it is in no sense a cure-all. Failures will result from probation just as they have resulted from imprisonment. As Judge Lindsey has said:†

"It does not pretend to do all the work necessary to correct children or to prevent crime. It is offered as a far superior method to that of the old criminal court system of dealing with the thing rather than the child. That method was more or less brutal. The

* Mr. Flexner had a large share also in perfecting the Rochester Juvenile Court Law enacted by the New York General Assembly, 1910.

† Juvenile Court Laws, etc., p. 23.

juvenile court system has a danger in becoming one of leniency, but as between this method and that of the criminal court, it is much to be preferred. But the dangers of leniency as well as those of brutality can be avoided in most cases. Juvenile court workers must not be sentimentalists any more than brutalists. In short, the idea is a system of probation work, which contemplates co-operation with the child, the home, the school, the neighborhood, the church and the business man in its interest and that of the state. Its purpose is to help all it can and to hurt as little as it can; it seeks to build character—to make good citizens rather than useless criminals. The state is thus helping itself as well as the child, for the good of the child is the good of the state."

But more than this; the work of the juvenile court is, at the best, palliative, curative. We take these little human beings that are going the downward path and we try—and I think to some extent succeed—in saving them from going farther down. But that is not the most important task. The vital thing is to prevent them from reaching that condition in which they have to be dealt with in any court, and we are not doing our duty to the children of today, the men and women of tomorrow, when we neglect to destroy the evils that are leading them into careers of delinquency, when we fail not merely to uproot the wrong, but to implant in place of it the positive good.

It is well that we have these schools for the delinquent boy and girl; it is well that when they get into them they receive a thorough technical training, so that they are fitted for something afterwards; but it would be infinitely better if all children could receive that kind of an education before they reach the court; it would be infinitely better if we checked delinquency in its incipiency, and the incipiency generally is truancy.

To do this, we must make the school interesting, more interesting than it is today; we must provide for those children who cannot sit at their desk all day long with only mental work; we must put manual training right through the entire school system, so that there will be an outlet for their nervous energies, so that they will have something to work on with their hands instead of merely with the brain; and we must have the physician and the nurse in the school. We must not wait until the physical or mental troubles produce a state of delinquency and are discovered by the physician connected with the court.

And then, what is to be expected of the boys if they are not

given a proper place to play? If they are going to be driven into the streets, naturally they will come into contact with the policeman, naturally there will be trouble, and the heroism and hero-worship that follow trouble with the public authorities. And when that sort of heroism begins, they have stepped onto the high-road to criminality. How shall they be halted? By giving the boys and girls proper playgrounds not only in our cities, but in our towns and villages. By giving them the small parks with their swimming pools and their skating-rinks and their assembly-halls and their gymnasiums. By thus giving them a chance to convert the "gang" which cannot be eradicated—it is not human to go alone, the crowd is the natural thing—to convert the "gang" into a team, pulling together for good, instead of working together for evil. That is the result that has been obtained wherever these small parks have been established—especially in the congested districts of the cities. The boys get what they need. The appeal is made to their manhood and their honor. In every community there are needed separate ungraded rooms for the backward children, vacation and night-schools, proper child-labor and compulsory education laws, above all, a living wage for the worker, and many more things I should like to touch upon in this connection, had I the space.

Just one more point. The number of girls that go wrong in a large city is enormous. The majority of them do not start in from love of lust, but from love of joy, the joy of life that is in every normal human being. Take the girl that is working all day long and then comes home to two or three rooms occupied by a large family in the slum districts that the city fails to keep clean; she does not want to stay there every evening, she wants to go out; she wants the pleasure and happiness that our girls want; she likes the dance and the play just as much as do our girls. We let our girls enjoy themselves in a decent way under decent surroundings, but what do we do for these girls? The public dance-hall offers them the joy and the lights and the pleasures, but if the good citizens of the town will offer them those joys, those decent, innocent pleasures, in a decent way and under proper influences, as do our settlements scattered throughout our large cities and some of the churches, the girls will choose the latter nine times out of ten, aye, ninety-nine times out of the hundred. But they must have some outlet for their energy, some satisfaction for this cry for joy and happiness, and if we do not give it to them, they will get it in another way.

In a number of communities, juvenile protective leagues have

been established to carry on this preventive work of seeing to it that conditions injurious to child life are remedied, that offenses against children are punished, that the compulsory education and child-labor laws, without which juvenile court legislation is well nigh worthless, are properly enforced, and to promote this constructive work of furnishing the largest opportunities for the full and complete development of a happy childhood.

I have touched upon some of the positive needs that mean so much in the growth of the child; through them may come the prevention of that delinquency for which the juvenile court offers merely a cure. And it is to a study of the underlying causes of juvenile delinquency and to a realization of these preventive and positive measures, that we, the trained professional men, following the splendid lead of many of our European brethren, should give some thought and some care. The work demands the united and aroused efforts of the whole community, bent on keeping children from becoming criminals, determined that those who are treading the downward path shall be halted and led back.

To quote again from the debates on the Children's Bill in the House of Commons (Hansard, 4th ser., v. 186, p. 1262):

"We want to say to the child that if the world or the world's law has not been his friend in the past, it shall be now. We say that it is the duty of this Parliament, and that this Parliament is determined to lift, if possible, and rescue him, to shut the prison door, and to open the door of hope."

CHAPTER XX

PROCEDURE OF THE BOSTON JUVENILE COURT*

By HARVEY H. BAKER
Judge of the Boston Juvenile Court

THE Boston Juvenile Court is administered on the assumption that the fundamental function of a juvenile court is to put each child who comes before it in a normal relation to society as promptly and as permanently as possible, and that while punishment is not by any means to be dispensed with, it is to be made subsidiary and subordinate to that function.†

The officials of the court believe it is helpful to think of themselves as physicians in a dispensary. The quarters of the court are well adapted in location and arrangement for carrying out that conception. Although they are in the main court house of the city, they are adjacent to the quarters of the supreme judicial court and the probate court, in the portion of the building most remote from the criminal court. They are in a quiet corner overlooking an interior quadrangle quite away from the notice of passers on the street or persons in the court house on other business. They comprise a large waiting room, 37 by 25½ feet, where offenders and all other persons attending the court wait for the cases to be called, and the judge's small private room, 17½ by 12½ feet, where all cases are heard. There is no regular dock or detention enclosure connected with the general waiting room and the children usually sit with their parents in chairs placed along the sides of the room. Occasionally a boy who is under arrest and likely to yield to the temptation to leave without permission is placed behind the railing which keeps the general public at a proper distance from the clerk and his papers, or a

* Reprinted by permission from *The Survey* of February 5, 1910.

† "This act shall be liberally construed to the end . . . that as far as practicable (children) shall be treated, not as criminals, but as children in need of aid, encouragement and guidance. Proceedings against children under this act shall not be deemed to be criminal proceedings." Extract from the general law prescribing the method of dealing with juvenile offenders in all courts in Massachusetts (St. 1906, c. 413, § 2).

girl is placed with the stenographer in the probation officer's record room. There are no uniformed officials.

The statute establishing the court provides that "so far as possible the court shall hear all cases in chambers" (St. 1906, c. 489, §5), *i. e.*, in the judge's private room. The judge's room cannot comfortably hold more than a dozen persons, and there are seldom that many in it together. It is entirely without decorations or objects which might distract the attention of a child. The presence of the clerk and stenographer is dispensed with, and the probation officer is the only court attendant ever in the room. With the exception that the judge sits on a platform about six inches high, much like a school teacher's platform, there is no more formality of arrangement or attendance than there is in a physician's examination room.

The statute establishing the court also provides that "all persons whose presence, in the opinion of the court, is not necessary shall be excluded from the room" (St. 1906, c. 489, §5). Acting under this provision the judge excludes all newspaper reporters and all other persons having only a general interest in the proceedings. The sheltered location of the room, the absence of decoration, the dispensing with attendants and the exclusion of outsiders give the simplicity which is necessary to gain the undivided attention of the child, and give the quiet which is indispensable for hearing clearly what the child says and speaking to him in the calmest tone.

When the judge is ready to hear a case the probation officer brings in the child from the waiting room. The child does not stand in front of the desk, because that would prevent the judge from seeing the whole of him, and the way a child stands and even the condition of his shoes are often useful aids to a proper diagnosis of the case. The child stands at the end of the platform, where the judge can see him from top to toe, and the judge sits near the end, so he is close to the child and can reassure him if necessary by a friendly hand on the shoulder. The platform is just high enough to bring the average child's eye about on a level with the eye of the judge.

If it seems likely that the child will be inclined to hold back the truth about the affair which has brought him to court, the judge sometimes talks with him entirely alone, and frequently talks with him in the presence of no one but the probation officer. This is done to relieve the child of the embarrassment, and indeed the fear, which he often feels in speaking the truth in the presence of his parents.

The judge always has the formal papers of the case in his hand,

but, except in the few cases where a fine* is likely to be imposed, there is no formal reading of the complaint, and the child is not required to make any formal answer, such as pleading "guilty" or "not guilty." The examination varies in its details according to the nature of the case and the character of the child, but the following will give a general idea of the usual examination and adjudication:

"John, do you know what you have been brought to court for?"

"I suppose it is about Mrs. Doe's money."

"What have you got to say about it?"

"I took it, but it was the first time," etc.

The attendance of at least one parent at court at the beginning of the case is of course always insisted on, and after the above conversation the parents and the police officer in charge of the case, and sometimes the aggrieved parties, are brought into the room, if they were not admitted with the boy, and the judge says:

"John says it is true that he took Mrs. Doe's money and I adjudge him delinquent, and he has the right to appeal."†

The police officer is then dismissed, the child sent out of the room, and the judge talks over the case with the parents and the probation officer; and the parents can thus be admonished, if admonishment is necessary, without the risk of lowering them in the estimation of the child and thereby further impairing their already insufficient control. Then the child is brought back and informed of the disposition of his case, with such comments on his past behavior and such admonition or encouragement as seem appropriate.

If the child denies the truth of the charge against him, the judge sometimes talks with him at considerable length, reasoning with him, but never threatening him or offering inducements to him directly or indirectly, or asking him to inform on other children unless they are much older than he. The child is told in the course of a free conversation between him and the judge that in this court there is only one thing worse than stealing (or whatever the child is supposed to have done), and that is not telling the truth about it afterwards; that children often keep back the truth because they are afraid, but nothing

* In Massachusetts regular criminal proceedings must be resorted to in order to impose a fine on a child (see St. 1906, c. 413, espe. §11).

† The statutes of Massachusetts give the right of appeal to the Superior Court from all inferior courts, because the inferior courts cannot hold jury trials, and the right to trial by jury is provided for even in the cases of delinquent children, because it is not clear that the commitment of children might not be held to be a deprivation of liberty which, under the Constitution of the commonwealth, and the Constitution of the United States, calls for a trial by jury. (See St. 1906, c. 413, §5.)

worse can happen to him if he tells the truth himself than will happen to him if the judge believes the officer and witnesses and gets the truth from them. He is asked if he is not keeping back the truth in the hope that so long as he denies it himself, his parents may refuse to believe the witnesses, and he may thus escape a whipping. He is asked (if he appears pretty intelligent) if he were the judge which he would believe, the witnesses or the boy, if the grown-up witnesses said one thing and the boy another. He is asked if his story seems to be reasonable; if the court is not treating him squarely to give him so full an opportunity to tell his story, and whether he is sure he is treating the court fairly. He is asked if the boys don't say: "Never confess when you are caught and the judge may be in doubt and let you off." He usually admits that that is the case, and he is told that it is true that he may get off that way this time, but that he cannot always succeed, and if later a court finds him acting that way in a case, it will go much harder with him.

All these pains are taken to get the boy to tell the truth himself because it greatly enhances the efficacy of the subsequent treatment of the case, first, because the child is much more receptive to the advances of the judge and probation officers after he has confided in them, and second, because his parents are much more ready to accept the intervention of the judge and probation officers and co-operate with them when the child admits his fault, for they are apt to be quite unwilling to accept the statements of the witnesses against the child's denial, and so long as they believe in the child they regard the judge as a tyrant and the probation officer as an intruder.

If the child persists in denying his delinquency, his parents and the police officer are brought in, and the case is heard in the ordinary way (except that only one witness is in the room at a time), but at a hearing conducted under such circumstances as those described above shy children talk more freely than in public and bold children cannot pose as heroes.

It should be added that offenders brought before the juvenile court have just as much right to be represented by counsel as offenders brought before any other court. This right is fully recognized, and when counsel has entered an appearance no step is taken without consulting him, and he may conduct the case in the same way in which he would conduct it in any other court, although in most instances even counsel who are the most technical in other courts actually co-operate with the judge of the juvenile court in trying to make parents understand that the court is only seeking to do what

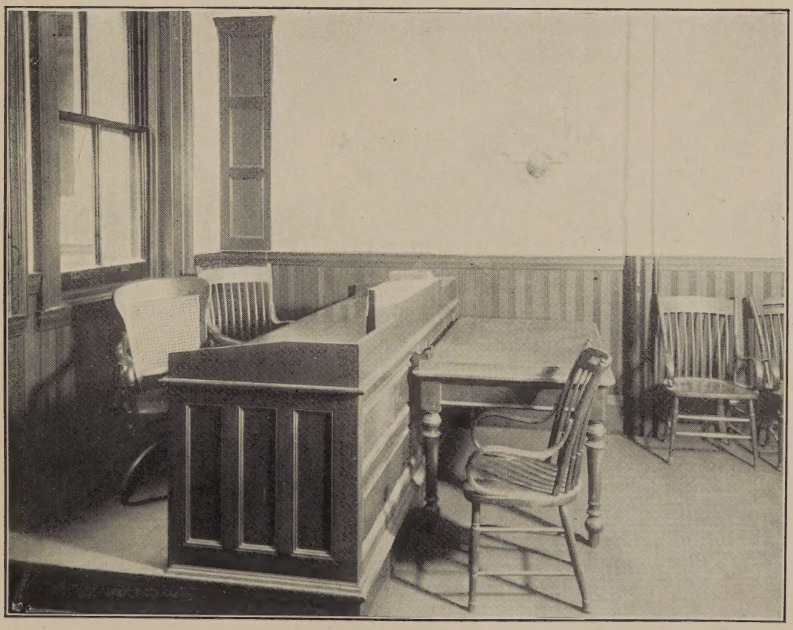
is for the best interest of the child in the long run, and in persuading them to submit to the orders of the court.

In determining the disposition to be made of the case the procedure of the physician is very closely followed. The probation officer investigates the case and reports to the judge all available information about the family and other features of the environment of the boy, the boy's personal history at home, in school, at work, and on the street, and the circumstances attending the particular outbreak which got him into court. The boy himself is scrutinized for indications of feeble-mindedness or physical defects, such as poor eyesight, deafness, adenoids. The judge and probation officer consider together, like a physician and his junior, whether the outbreak which resulted in the arrest of the child was largely accidental, or whether it is habitual or likely to be so; whether it is due chiefly to some inherent physical or moral defect of the child, or whether some feature of his environment is an important factor; and then they address themselves to the question of how permanently to prevent the recurrence. If there is any reason to believe the child is feeble-minded, he is submitted to a specialist; if there are indications of physical defects, he is taken to a dispensary; if the environment seems to be at fault, a change is secured through the parents by making them realize that the child will be taken from them if they do not make the change, or where the parents are unable to make the change or are themselves the disturbing factor the child is taken away by the court.

Of course the court does not confine its attention to just the particular offense which brought the child to its notice. For example, a boy who comes to court for some such trifle as failing to wear his badge when selling papers may be held on probation for months because of difficulties at school; and a boy who comes in for playing ball in the street may (after the court has caused more serious charges to be preferred against him) be committed to a reform school because he is found to have habits of loafing, stealing or gambling which cannot be corrected outside.

Only a very small portion of the children are committed to institutions, and in the treatment of the very large number who are suffered to remain at home the procedure of the physician is again closely followed. If the child's fault is not due to any deep-seated difficulty and is trifling in its character, such as throwing stones in the street, he may be sent home to copy an eight-page pamphlet containing extracts from the ordinances regulating the use of streets and laws which children are likely to violate, and the judge sees him

A Corner of the Waiting Room



Judges' Private Room

Boston Juvenile Court
(By permission of *The Survey*)

only once more, to examine him on his work when it is finished, just as a physician might do in the case of a burn or a bruise. If the offense is serious and likely to be repeated or the conditions surrounding the boy are such that he is liable to have a serious breakdown, or if the cause of the difficulty is obscure, he is seen by the judge at frequent intervals, monthly, weekly, or sometimes even daily, just as with the patient and the physician in case of tuberculosis or typhoid.

While much stress is laid by the judge and probation officers on the analogy of their work to that of the physician, they fully appreciate that the analogy is not perfect, and they modify their procedure and treatment accordingly. The patient attends the dispensary of his own volition and is under no obligation to follow the prescription, while the offender is compelled to come to court and obeys the orders of the officials on pain of the loss of his liberty for disregarding them. This makes it essential, in order to avoid any appearance of star chamber proceedings, that greater latitude be allowed in admitting persons to the judge's "chambers" than in admitting persons to the physician's examination room; and while reporters and private citizens having only a general interest in the proceedings are excluded, the judge freely admits public officials interested in the preservation of law and order, trustees and officers of reform schools, school masters, officers of private societies dealing with children, clergymen and social workers, taking care, however, not to have more than one or two present at a time. Of course there is the important additional reason for admitting many of the visitors just mentioned, that they can greatly increase the efficiency of the work of the court by bringing to bear on it fresh minds and new points of view, and the judge takes advantage of this by conferences with the observers in intervals between cases and after the hearings are over. Even the mere presence of such visitors in reasonable numbers modifies and tempers wholesomely the attitude and action of the judge.

Furthermore, morals enter more largely and directly into the work of the court than into the work of the dispensary, and therefore it seems desirable to create deliberately to some extent an atmosphere of seriousness and solemnity in the proceedings. The quietness of the location, the plainness of the room, the small number of persons present and the judge's platform all contribute to this end. Then again it is probably in the interest of efficiency that the fact of the court being a department of public authority and having power to

compel compliance should be indicated distinctly (though not so obtrusively as to overawe or seriously embarrass), especially where many of those who attend the court are ignorant, and for that reason children and parents are usually kept standing while talking with the judge. The platform contributes to this purpose also.

The physician never causes his patient pain if he can help it, indeed he is constantly directing his attention to the avoidance of that incident of treatment. The judge and the probation officers, on the other hand, from time to time deliberately cause the child discomfort, because the discomfort of punishment affords in some cases an indispensable stimulus or moral tonic which cannot be supplied in any other way. The most serious form of pure punishment to which the court resorts is the confinement of the child and his separation from his home for a brief period. Occasionally arrangements are made with parents to confine children at home or give them corporal punishment. School boys are from time to time required to spend parts of holidays or vacations copying laws or other appropriate matter in the probation officer's record room under charge of the stenographer. Fines are sometimes imposed for violation of probation* or for the repetition of minor offenses, and made payable in instalments out of the child's spending money. The punishments thus administered are always considered by the court as subsidiary and incidental to its main function of putting the child right, and they are not given for retribution or example.

It is recognized, however, that, while in most cases the public interest is best served by doing what is best for the individual, there are instances of offenses committed under such circumstances as to come to the attention of a large number of young people where an example may be more efficacious, and in such cases punishment pure and simple is summarily inflicted.

Little emphasis has been laid in the course of this description on the analogy of the function of the judge and probation officers to that of parents, because it is believed that the analogy of the physician is more thoroughgoing. The judge and probation officers in most cases of children on probation take the parental attitude to a very great extent, but on reducing the proposition to its lowest terms it will be recognized that the officials of the court must always have in mind that the court is in its essence a remedial agency, like

* It is found that most children, even though their parents are very poor, have from ten to fifteen cents a week to spend for pleasure. Of course it is only the children who are earning something who have the larger amounts.

a hospital; that there is something the matter in or around the child, else he would not have come to their attention; that it is their business to discover and remove or counteract that something; that while in many cases service like that of parents is what is needed to effect the cure, it is not always the lack of proper parental care that causes the trouble, and they must in all cases work toward the end of discharging the child as soon as there is reasonable assurance that he can take care of himself or can be adequately cared for unofficially.

In addition to the foregoing statement of the general course of procedure of the court, there are some further statements which must be given to make the account complete.

The cases of girls are handled from the very beginning by women and the men probation officers have nothing to do with them, except to make sure in cases of arrest that the girls are promptly turned over to an accredited woman agent or their parents. If a girl is arrested, a woman is at once called by the probation officer to the police station to take her in charge, unless her parents arrive promptly and are considered fit to hold her until court opens again. When she comes into the judge's chamber she is attended by a woman, who remains constantly in attendance throughout the examination. The judge never talks with girls alone as he sometimes does with boys. If a girl is committed to an institution she is taken by a woman. The court has no women probation officers and all the services in the girls' cases are performed by the woman agents of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the Boston Children's Aid Society, the Council of Jewish Women, the St. Vincent de Paul Society and the Boston Italian Immigrant Society. After a girl's case has been heard she is kept away from the court as much as possible, and is not brought to court to report during a term of probation except in cases of conduct requiring very serious admonition.

The cases commonly called in Massachusetts "neglect" cases, and called in other jurisdictions cases of "improper guardianship" and the like, although intimately connected with the causes of juvenile delinquency are not very closely related to the procedure in cases of juvenile delinquency, because so far as procedure is concerned the court has little contact with the children in neglect cases. The judge sees the children for a moment at the beginning of the case, and they are dismissed from his room before the evidence of the parental unfitness is given, as the proceedings are virtually against the parents. The hearings are private in these cases as well as in the ordinary cases

of juvenile offenders, and this privacy is most useful in the many conferences which are held by the judge with parents and relatives as to the proper adjustment of the cases.

The court avails itself very often of outside assistance in other instances than those already mentioned, and there are fifty different departments, institutions and agencies to which the court frequently turns for help in conducting or disposing of cases.

No handcuffs or similar devices are used on any boy by any officer of the court.

Although an account of probation, which is the most important part of the court's work, is not germane to the subject of this article, it is desirable to give some information about the probation officers, for they are the sole executive officers of the court, there being no deputy sheriffs, constables, or other court officers of any description attached to it. Indeed, the probation officers are the arms and, to a great extent, the ears, eyes and brains of the court in delinquent cases.

The ideal probation officer should have all the consecration of the devoted clergyman, all the power to interest and direct of the efficient teacher, and all the discernment of the skilful physician. Two salaried probation officers are provided by law. They are appointed by the judge and hold office during his pleasure. The judge is unrestricted in his power of appointment and removal. One officer takes care of the delinquent children living north of the court house, the other of the children living south of the court house. Each investigates the cases of delinquent children from his own territory, and attends to those cases in all proceedings in court. They each investigate about 350 cases a year, and supervise on probation about 150 children at a time. In addition to the regular probation officers there is a paid agent of the Council of Jewish Women who gives all her time to the court. She is for practical purposes a third probation officer and does as much work as a regular officer. Even including this agent the number of officers is not by any means so large as it should be to give adequate service.

There is no regular corps of volunteer probation officers, meaning by "volunteers" persons not receiving pay for their services from any source, public or private. However, a great deal of unpaid assistance is enlisted by the probation officers in probation cases, the helper being usually some relative, friend, neighbor or clergyman of the family, who acts under the supervision of the probation officer.

Offenders do not come to this court after they are seventeen years old.

The court does not deal with cases from all parts of the city. It has jurisdiction only over those cases which arise in the central parts commonly known as the North, West and South Ends, and the Back Bay. These comprise the most congested districts of the city, and the greater portion of its immigrant population. The number of children brought before the court during the year ending August 31, 1909, was 1,448.

It must be borne in mind that this account is not intended to be a complete account of the work of the court, or even of the most important features of the work. For example, there is nothing about probation, which is the most important part of the work with delinquent children. It is intended to cover only the "procedure" of the court, which means the conduct of the cases by the judge and the other court officials in the court house.

CHAPTER XXI

PROCEDURE OF THE MANHATTAN CHILDREN'S COURT OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

By FRANKLIN CHASE HOYT
Justice of the Court of Special Sessions, New York City

THE Manhattan Children's Court occupies a unique position among the juvenile courts of the world. While some of the best known tribunals of this class number their cases by the hundreds, it has to deal with thousands. In comparing the procedure of the Manhattan court with others throughout the country it should ever be borne in mind that this court, during the past few years, has handled annually between 11,000 and 12,000 cases, or about three times as many children as were brought before the courts of Brooklyn or Chicago, the next two largest juvenile courts in the world. Moreover, it is constantly brought face to face with problems the very existence of which are practically unknown in many other communities. Before it daily pass the sons of all races, and on it devolves the duty of moulding the children from every corner of the globe into decent American citizens of the future. For, according to the latest figures, 86 per cent of all the children arraigned before the children's court of Manhattan and The Bronx were born either abroad or of parents born in foreign countries. Surely, therefore, it is no misnomer to call it "The world's biggest life-saving station."

There is no difference between the aims of the Manhattan Children's Court and those of other like tribunals throughout the country. Its ideals are as high and its purpose is as strong. The underlying object towards which all of its work is directed is to save the child for himself and for the state; that is, without glossing over the necessity of inflicting punishment whenever such punishment is necessary, to place the child as effectually as possible in a normal position wherein he may gain his chance to live a decent life and qualify himself to become a useful member of society. To quote from the court's last annual report:

"The court in dealing with the multitude of children that comes before it each year, views each as a prospective citizen, an individual potentiality for good or evil. The thought of individual salvation is ever uppermost in dealing with each child. If in the best interests of all it is possible to rescue the child without commitment to an institution this is done, and he is saved to his home and the state at the same time."

That the very gravity and complexity of the problems with which it is faced have resulted in making the Manhattan court conservative is possibly true, but conservatism should not be confounded with lack of progress or of interest in the work. New York has ever blazed the way for reform in regard to the treatment of juvenile delinquents. The New York legislature in 1877 (Chapter 428) passed a law providing that no child under the age of sixteen should be placed in any prison or place of confinement or in any court-room in company with adults charged with crime except in the presence of proper officials. In 1892 a law was passed in New York (Chapter 217) which permitted cases involving the trial and commitment of children under the age of sixteen years to be heard and determined "separate and apart from the trial of other criminal cases," and required that a separate docket of such cases be kept. While New York is not the first city to have a permanent court for children, its children's court was the first in the world to hold its sessions in a building of its own. It was also the first city to have a separate detention place for children taken into custody by the authorities, for in 1880 the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children began to house some of the children taken into custody, and since April 19, 1893, no child under the age of sixteen years has, so far as is known, been confined in a station-house, prison or jail pending the disposition of the case in court.

The legislature during the past ten years has also adopted many other laws affecting the welfare of children, the fundamental ideas of which have been utilized in many instances by other states and nations in framing new statutes to deal with the treatment of dependent and delinquent children.

These facts are not set forth in any spirit of boastfulness. They are cited simply to show that New York has not been blind to the value of the children's court as an institution for civic betterment, and that if the past is to be taken as an earnest of the future, it will be ever ready to do its share towards the advancement of the cause.

THE PROCEDURE

The court's jurisdiction extends not only over all delinquents under the age of sixteen years (except those charged with murder), but also over all children of the same age who are suffering from lack of proper guardianship. The latter class possibly might be termed "neglected children." The word "dependent" will not serve, for such a classification would include those whose parents, through no fault of their own, because perhaps of illness or poverty, are unable to give them proper care and attention. Such children in New York are not brought under the jurisdiction of the court, but are cared for by the Department of Public Charities.

Up to the present the law of the state requires that each delinquent be given a formal trial and that he either be convicted or acquitted of the offense with which he is charged. Without approving in the least of this method of procedure it might be pointed out, however, that it is not as undesirable as it appears, nor is it entirely contrary to the thought underlying the movement which created the children's court. It has its advantages in enabling the court to dispose swiftly of the thousands of cases that constantly arise involving trifling offenses, such as playing ball on the street, or violating a corporation ordinance, in which there is no necessity for placing the offender upon parole. In the more serious cases, however, the formal trial is but a small part of the judicial inquiry. Frequently, the judge in his discretion will direct that the complaint be changed to one of improper guardianship, in order that the inquiry may have the fullest scope. Even if the formal trial is adhered to, it is but a secondary consideration beside the social side of the inquiry which follows upon a conviction. The great disadvantage of this practice is that an acquittal may result and the offender may be discharged, when every consideration requires that he should be placed under the strictest supervision. Such a contingency, fortunately, is not of frequent occurrence, and even in such a case it is always possible for the judge to bring the offender again before him on the general charge of improper guardianship.

In 1909 the legislature amended the penal law by providing that a child coming within the jurisdiction of the children's court could no longer be convicted of a crime, but that if it had committed an act which in an adult would be a crime, it should be deemed guilty of juvenile delinquency only. The fundamental idea of this piece of legislation is excellent. It is objectionable, however, in that it places

an unnecessary stigma upon those charged with trifling offenses, for it is hardly just to stamp a boy playing ball in the street as a juvenile delinquent. If its application were to be confined to those charged with committing acts involving moral turpitude, it would subserve its purpose to better advantage.

For the past two years little new legislation has been introduced and the initiation of various proposed reforms affecting the procedure of the children's court has been delayed for the following reason: In 1908 an act was passed creating a commission to be appointed jointly by the governor and the legislature to inquire into the manner in which justice was administered in courts of inferior criminal jurisdiction. As the administration of the children's court fell directly within the scope of this inquiry, all suggestions for the improvement of such administration were referred, naturally, to this commission for its consideration. Its report, which was handed to the governor in the month of April, 1910, contains many recommendations which if enacted into statutory law will effect a marked advance in providing a more enlightened method of procedure in the children's court than exists at present. The committee refers to the provisions which were enacted in the Buffalo City Court Act of last year and advocates their application to the children's courts of Manhattan and of Brooklyn. The statute in question provides as follows:

"The judge sitting in the Children's Court shall as far as is consistent with the interest of the child and of the State consider the child not as upon trial for the commission of a crime, but as a child in need of the care and protection of the State: to that end he may, if the child or either parent or any guardian or custodian of such child shall so request, before proceeding with the trial of the child for the offense charged, or at any stage of the trial and before conviction, suspend the trial and inquire into all the facts and surrounding circumstances of the case, and if the judge shall so find, he may in his discretion in lieu of proceeding with the trial, adjudge the child to be in need of the care and protection of the State and thereupon he shall deal with such child in all respects in the manner provided in section 486 of the penal law in the case of a child not having proper guardianship."

"This provision," the commission says in its report, "was drawn having in mind the question of treating the child, not as a criminal, but rather as needing the protection of the state, or, in the language of the Court of Appeals in the Knowack case (158 N. Y. 482), as coming within the class 'where the state intervenes to care for and protect the homeless and destitute child.' "

There can be but one opinion as to the desirability of such legislation. It would provide clear statutory authority for the course which is now being pursued by the justices of the court in abandoning the formal trial as far as possible and substituting an inquiry into the guardianship of the child. It embodies the spirit that should ever control the administration of justice in a juvenile court if such administration is to accomplish the greatest good not only for the child himself, but for society at large.

THE COURT ROOM

There is little need in an article such as this to waste words in describing the Manhattan court room. While New York justly claims credit for having the first children's court to hold its sessions in a building of its own, that building is now absolutely inadequate for its purpose and until the city authorities provide a suitable court house the justices of the court must continue to be greatly handicapped in their efforts to maintain any ideal method of procedure in the court room. Recently, however, an appropriation was approved of for this purpose by the board of estimate of the city, and if the city administration will but fulfill its pledge, the borough of Manhattan should soon be possessed of one of the best arranged and best equipped juvenile court buildings in the country. In planning this new building, however, the justices of the court are not willing to do away entirely with the existence of a formal court room. As some cases unquestionably can be dealt with to better advantage by the judge in his private chambers, so are there others in a great city like New York where the best results can be obtained by impressing the young offender, and particularly his negligent and often criminal parents, with the idea that they stand before a solemn court of justice. This subject has been carefully considered by the legislative commission already referred to and in its report to Governor Hughes it states the conclusions of its members on this point:

"In the construction of this children's court there is an excellent opportunity for the erection of a modern court building for that purpose. In many of the jurisdictions throughout this country and abroad, the room in which the child's case is heard is small, and the usual features of the court room are eliminated. This is regarded by some experienced judges and students of the subject as the proper arrangement for the hearing of children's cases, so that each child's case can be heard by itself and privately without a curious audience.

and in order also that the judge may come into a closer relation with the child, parental rather than judicial.

"We recognize, however, that there are conditions and circumstances, in the administration of children's courts in the city of New York, which present problems that cannot necessarily be solved upon the same lines as in smaller jurisdictions.

"Among the children brought to this court are many who are charged with serious offenses, such as breaking into cars, picking pockets, etc. A considerable proportion of these children cannot be dealt with successfully if the court and its proceedings impress them as too gentle and amiable. Besides, in very many instances, it is the effort of the court not merely to control the child but to impress responsibility upon the parent. Many of these parents are of foreign birth, who have recently immigrated to this country and who have much respect for dignified forms, and it is the opinion of experienced judges that their success in dealing with children's cases would be impaired if the formal surrounding of the court room were taken away. There should be no difficulty, however, in so constructing the court room that the child can come even physically closer to the judge than at present, and that the space in front of the judge's bench can be more conveniently arranged.

"It seems clear also that after a child has been placed on probation, a closer personal relation can be aided by the judge hearing the child and conversing with it in a direct way in some room other than the court room, and where the interview may be private."

THE JUDGES

The children's court of Manhattan and the Bronx is a part of the Court of Special Sessions of the first division of the city of New York. This court is composed of six justices and each justice receives, therefore, two monthly assignments to the children's court during the course of a year. This system of rotation, in spite of all that has been said against it, is not entirely unreasonable. It must be remembered that it would be physically impossible for one judge to sit every day in the year (Sundays and holidays excepted) and to handle successfully 11,400 cases. Even if he were able to perform the work, his memory would be unequal to the task of recalling the incidents of each case during the probationary period. Since there must be more than one judge (and every worker in this field concedes that one would not be sufficient), the arguments that have been urged against the system of

rotation lose much of their force. On the other hand, there are those who contend that there is a certain advantage in such a system in that the court receives the benefit from the concentration of the best ideas of six different men. The better plan, however, would be to have fewer justices assigned to the court and to substantially increase the term of such assignment, so that in designating a justice to sit in the children's court, consideration might be had to the fitness of the particular justice and that the opportunity might be given him during that time to devote his whole attention to that work. Such a plan seems to meet the approval of those who have carefully studied the various phases of the problem with which the Manhattan court is confronted, and there is every reasson to expect that it will be put into operation during the coming year.

If this article were not confined strictly to a description of the procedure of the Manhattan court as it exists at present, it would be interesting to give a short account of the detention system now in operation, of the efforts of the court to establish a system of medical examination for those who may need it, and of the various reformatories and institutions to which the court may commit juvenile delinquents of different types. In fact, these subjects are so closely correlated to the work of the court that it is difficult to proceed without a detailed description of them all; but as the space assigned is limited and as these matters involve the work of agencies outside the court, they must be omitted necessarily. The same also applies to a description of the probation system now in existence. Probation, concededly, is one of the most important of the court's functions, but it is not, strictly speaking, a part of the "procedure" of the court, and it lies, therefore, outside the scope of this article. It will suffice to say on this point that although the system now employed has worked well in the past and has resulted successfully, as far as the records of the court show, in almost 86 per cent of the cases, the officials of the court are earnestly working for its improvement, and that, in all probability, the near future will see a better, stronger and more efficient system than the one which exists today.

This, then, is a brief sketch of the procedure of the Manhattan children's court. This court has felt its way, gradually perhaps, but nevertheless surely, towards the establishment of the most comprehensive method of handling the problem of the delinquent and the neglected child. It has cheerfully given the benefit of its own experience (and that experience has not been small) to the courts of other states, and it is ever ready to profit by their methods in return. If

THE MANHATTAN CHILDREN'S COURT ROOM, NEW YORK CITY
(By permission of *The Survey*)

at times it has seemed to have progressed somewhat slowly along the lines of modern thought, it is not for the reason that its officials have lacked interest in the work, but because they believed that the structure reared by them should rest on the surest and firmest foundations. They have recognized the fact that as conditions differ in various parts of the country, so must the procedure vary in order that the best results may be obtained, and that a practice which would work out excellently in a smaller town, might prove wholly inappropriate in a community as large as New York. These are facts which should never be lost sight of by those who have cause to examine into the procedure of the Manhattan court. As was well said by the commission of inquiry in its report to Governor Hughes:

"Children's courts are as yet so new in our jurisprudence that the Commission believes it to be safer that the development of the law governing their administration be along careful and steady lines of gradual improvement."

And again: "During the short time that these courts have been in existence in the city of New York, great progress has been made in the study of the problems affecting the dependent and delinquent child and in the development of children's courts throughout the country. The problems, however, which are presented in the city of New York are vastly more difficult than those presented in any other jurisdiction, for in some other parts of the country where much has been said and written about children's courts, the number of children brought before the judge in a year is less than the number brought before the two children's courts in the city of New York in a fortnight. Besides, in other jurisdictions there is not the difficulty of so varied a population, with parents most of whom do not understand the English language and who are not yet fully familiar with American customs and requirements. Therefore, although profiting by experience in other jurisdictions, the problems of the children's courts in New York must be approached with careful regard to difficulties peculiarly their own."

CHAPTER XXII

THE JUVENILE COURT AS A PROBATIONARY INSTITUTION

By HENRY W. THURSTON*

Superintendent of the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society; Former Chief Probation Officer of the Chicago Juvenile Court

DIRECT RESULTS OF COURT

ON the first day of July of the next-to-the-last year of the nineteenth century, the juvenile court law of Illinois became operative. Previous to that time in the city of Chicago, boys of eight, nine, ten, eleven and twelve years were constantly to be found in jail, for no greater offenses than thefts of pigeons from back yards, fruit from street stands and grain from railroad tracks. The records of the Bridewell also were full of cases of boys of the same ages, sent there on fines to be worked out. During the six months previous to July 1, 1899, 332 such boys from nine to sixteen were thus sent to the Bridewell.

It was the sight of boys in these debasing surroundings that enlisted the effective aid of other citizens and of the Bar Association in favor of the enactment of the law which would take their babies away from contact with criminal, debased and immoral men and women.

The juvenile court law for the first time, in Illinois, set the judge face to face with neglected and delinquent children of all kinds, free to disregard the technicalities of criminal court procedure and to ask simply the question, "What, in view of all the circumstances surrounding this child's life, is it best to do for him?" With the problems of all the neglected and delinquent boys and girls of the city thus centered in the administration of a single court, it is legitimate and interesting to inquire, after ten years, what progress has been made toward a saner and more adequate care of children.

From the day it was opened to December 1, 1909, 31,257 children had passed through the court, distributed through the years as

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follows: 1899, 892; 1900, 2,405; 1901, 2,507; 1902, 2,628; 1903, 2,871; 1904, 2,942; 1905, 4,050; 1906, 3,794; 1907, 3,266; 1908, 2,959; 1909 (to December 1), 2,943.

These children have been brought in on three different kinds of petition, some as "dependents," some as "truants," and some as "delinquents." The number of delinquents has been slightly higher than the number of dependents, and the number of truants about one-tenth the sum of the other two. The great underlying fact has been, however, that on account of poverty, ill-health, lack of adjustment to American institutions, death or absence of one or both parents, and lack of parental control, the great majority of these children are alike "children in need of care and education." As a rule it would be much better so to describe them in the petition filed in their behalf than to charge them with the objective offenses of larceny, assault, burglary, etc.—terms borrowed from criminal court procedure.

Under the first law of 1899 and the amended law of 1901, there was a clause allowing probation officers to be commissioned by the judge, but with the express provisions that they could not be paid from any public money. During the first twelve months there were 1,095 children put under probation by court order with no money in sight to pay for their care. Under these circumstances, the settlement workers, various associations for the care of children, and public spirited men and women came to the rescue and offered their services as probation officers, and there soon was organized a body of people known as the Juvenile Court Committee, afterwards incorporated, that raised large sums of money to pay and organize a force of probation officers. This force in July, 1905, numbered seventeen people. At that time, under a special amendment to the juvenile court law, it was provided that in Cook County the county commissioners were authorized to pay regular probation officers and the chief probation officer, all of whom should receive their appointments under civil service rules. Under the Juvenile Court Committee the salary of this class of probation officers was sixty-five dollars per month and expenses. Under public control the salary at first remained at sixty-five dollars, the officer to pay his own expenses, but this was soon raised to seventy-five dollars with no expenses provided—a sum too low for the service required. At present there are one chief, one assistant chief and thirty-three officers.

From a recent investigation* of the detailed work of these offi-

* Carried on under the Research Department of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy for a report to the Russell Sage Foundation.

cers, including that of police and volunteers in the care of delinquent boys and girls, it was found that a fraction over 80 per cent of all the boys put under probation up to January, 1908, had not returned to court, while of all the delinquent girls put under probation up to July, 1909, only 55 per cent had not returned. It must be remembered that these figures are for delinquents only, as no study was made of cases brought in on truant or dependent petitions. The figures suggest how little the court and its officers yet know of the real problem of the delinquent girl.

If the percentage of apparent success with boys seems small to any one who has heard that other courts succeed with 90 per cent or 95 per cent, two things may be said: (1) Most statistical statements made by juvenile court workers with delinquent boys are made in the annual report for the current year. The 80 per cent above is based on those who had not returned during the first eight and a half years, consequently all except the cases of the last year of the period had failed to return after a lapse of from one to seven and one-half years. This difference is of great importance, as all juvenile court workers know, for a boy who has kept out of trouble for a year or even two or three, frequently gets into trouble again later. All statistics of permanent reform based on a year's time are unconvincing. (2) Of all the delinquent boys of 1903–4 who were located at the time of the investigation in 1908, only 4.5 per cent were found in institutions for criminals. In other words, if a discouraging number have been more than once in a juvenile court, it is also true that comparatively little deliberate criminality was found among them.

SOME MISTAKES

The investigation revealed some weaknesses that ought to be wholly avoided in future. For example: (1) Some children who had been put on probation had not been properly followed up. (2) Sometimes too much emphasis had been put upon the "negative method" of arousing fear, prohibitions, etc., without also using the "positive method" of appeal to better conduct, enlargement of opportunity, etc. (3) Co-operation among probation officers; between probation officers and home, school, employer and church, and the co-operation between the court and institutions developed more slowly and imperfectly than it ought.

The weaknesses and failures, however, are merely incidental to the first years of a new and complex work. There is within the juve-

nile court movement the power of detecting failure and overcoming it. On the whole, there has been great progress in Chicago during these ten years toward better actual care of neglected and delinquent children. Some evidence of the truth of this statement may be found in the following table:

Total police arrests of persons under twenty.	*Number of commitments of boys to the John Worthy School.*	*Number of commitments of boys to the State School at St. Charles.*
1898—15,669	..	..
1899—12,619	273	..
1900—13,652	640	..
1901—14,125	665	..
1902—14,312	694	..
1903—16,356	731	..
1904—12,414	590	43
1905—14,857	552	105
1906— 8,611	405	34
1907— 9,756	393	102
1908— 8,611	281	109
1909— 6,032 (To Nov. 1)	281 (To Dec. 1)	129 (To Dec. 1)

Taken with the decrease in the number of all cases brought into the juvenile court, these decreases in arrests and downward tendency of commitments of delinquent boys to institutions suggest the possible increase of neglected and delinquent children upon the streets.

To secure evidence on this point a letter was sent to twenty-six principals and assistant superintendents of schools, ministers, settlement workers, police officers, and others in different parts of the city, none of whom, excepting the police officers and one minister, had been directly identified with the court work. The letter asked for an expression of opinion based on personal observation or knowledge as to whether under the juvenile court the neglected, dependent and delinquent children of Chicago are more carefully looked after now than they were ten years ago, and for any significant facts on which the opinion was based. The twenty-four replies received all expressed the opinion that the children are better cared for today than they were ten years ago. Only one of these replies can be given here, but it is believed that it expresses the current opinion of representative men and women of the city on the point at issue. Emma M. Henderson, for Mary McDowell, head worker of the University of Chicago Settlement, wrote:

"Children are much more carefully looked after back of the stockyards than they were six years ago (this is my period of residence). The different agencies concerned with the protection of

children are much more alive to the needs of the situation than even two years ago.

"The Compulsory Education Department, the United Charities, the Juvenile Protective League are in close touch with the needs of dependent children. The shoe question is a vexed one and all these agencies are getting together on this. The selling of liquor to minors, another matter on which the probation officer, the protective officer and the settlement are almost at one, was once common, but it is now under very good control. A large part of the effectiveness of the law has been due to the vigilance of the officers above named, together with the growing knowledge upon the part of the saloon keeper that he is liable and that he is being watched.

"The medical inspection of schools is an added proof that children are most carefully looked after in protecting the many from the few, but it remained for the school nurse to do the follow-up work to protect the few from themselves.

"The public school social worker and the very recent addition of social workers in the small parks add materially to the list of officials, whose sole business it is to look after neglected, dependent and delinquent children. There can be but one conclusion as to how this list of officials has gradually increased. The juvenile court has pointed the need of each new official, and the growing social consciousness of the corps of workers which seeks to avoid duplication has been largely inspired by the same source."

Following the foregoing brief summary of the results of the juvenile court work itself as shown by the number of children that have come back to the court; by the number of arrests of children under twenty years of age; by the number of boys committed to delinquent institutions, and by the opinion of well-informed citizens of Chicago in relation to the present care of delinquent and neglected children upon the streets, an enumeration of some other related achievements in behalf of children may well be made here.

SOME SUCCESSES GAINED

After the court had been in operation five years and a half, the writer first visited the juvenile court room. Up to that time all the hearings had been conducted in the same room, so that what he describes as going on then is typical of what had been going on previously. The room was one of the regular circuit court rooms of the old county building, some 60 feet in length, 45 feet wide, and 25 feet

high. There was the usual high bench with railings before it, jury seats raised on one side, and half way down the room an immense semicircular railing back of which were the long settees with iron arms for the crowd. Juvenile court cases were heard only twice a week, dependent cases in the the morning and delinquent in the afternoon. From 60 to 80 cases were heard in a day, on some occasions 100, or even 115 or 120.

All the forenoon cases were set for the same hour, as were also the afternoon cases, and as each case required the attendance of probation officers, parents and perhaps several witnesses, from 150 to 300 persons were present, occupying every seat and window sill and even massed inside the outer railing. The children whose cases were to be heard were kept in a clerk's room in the rear and brought by an officer one by one before the judge through this seething, restless group of excited, anxious fathers and mothers. Such a juvenile hearing was in form better than that in the ordinary police court, only because the child was not brought in contact with criminal men and women, and because the technicalities of the criminal law were not followed. It was not much of an improvement so far as the immediate, personal effect upon the child was concerned.

In 1905 the old court house was torn down and for nearly two years, while the new one was building, the juvenile court occupied a room over a store on one of the busiest streets of Chicago, on which there was constant traffic and clanging electric cars. Here, also, the formality of the old court was kept up so far as bench and railings were concerned. The two hearings a week were continued, causing the same congestion with the attendant bad air and intimidating influence of the big crowd of weary, excited people.

In the new Juvenile Court Building opened in August, 1907, it was provided that court be held every day. There is a separate waiting room for fathers and mothers and children in which the Municipal Art League has placed attractive mural paintings of child activities, such as picnics, baseball games and swimming. In the court room there is still a low bench, but the room is so small that only a few people can be admitted. Each child's case is brought quietly before the judge and the hearing becomes an earnest conference over the child's condition and future welfare. The chief probation officer has always maintained that the hearing should be made still less formal by being conducted about a table instead of a bench, but thus far the judges have seen fit to maintain the formality of the court to this slight degree.

The Juvenile Court law of 1899 prohibited the confinement of children twelve years of age in a police station or a jail, and the whole spirit of the law was that no child should be so confined. It stated that some suitable place of detention should be provided, but did not appropriate funds for it. The same persons who raised funds to pay probation officers came to the rescue to provide a detention home, and for the first six years of the court a residence and a rear building, originally a barn, were rented for this purpose. The dependent children were kept in the residence proper and dormitories, dining room, bath room and living room for the boys were fitted up in the two-story barn. During all these six years that the detained boys were under the care of a police officer, very little was provided in the way of amusement, and almost nothing in the way of education. There was plenty of opportunity for telling vile stories, experiences with the police, and violations of the law, so that boys came to court in a spirit of bravado or intimidation.

No provision was made for the detention of delinquent girls, except that afforded by the so-called annex to the Harrison Street police station, where women of all degrees of degradation were also confined.

In 1907, however, all this gave place to a Juvenile Detention Home, in which provision was made for a threefold administration, for delinquent boys, delinquent girls and dependent children. Each group has its own reception room, dormitories, toilet facilities and dining room separated from the others. The rooms are light, airy and cheerful, in charge of a matron who is a trained nurse, and in the same building with the juvenile court room, the probation officers and clerks. Thus was accomplished the complete separation in the children's cases from even a suggestion of criminal court procedure.

Even while the boys were kept in a barn on the back of the lot, the problem of school facilities was solved. In 1906 application was made to the board of education for a skilled teacher to take charge during school hours. Florence Scully, who had had experience in a school for dependent boys and at the John Worthy School for delinquent boys, was selected by the superintendent of education. Aided by the Juvenile Court Committee she put in a piano, had the walls of the room tinted, hung curtains and in other ways made the room in the old barn attractive and began keeping school. Her problem was a difficult one, for some of the boys were there two days, some two weeks and some only two hours. They were of all ages and all stages of common school education and no education. It was necessary

JUVENILE COURT AND DETENTION HOME, CHICAGO
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therefore to do individual work with each boy. Miss Scully not only succeeded in doing this, but in introducing a great deal of hand work, such as clay modelling, raffia work, weaving, designing and drawing, used as incentives to the harder tasks in arithmetic, reading and spelling in which most of the boys were sadly deficient. At first one or two boys rebelled. Miss Scully went to court and asked that they be continued under her control until the allotted tasks were done. This the judge granted, and after several sessions of school lasting until one and two o'clock in the morning, the tradition was established that "whatever Miss Scully asks, goes." This tradition is handed on to each newcomer and there is no trouble now—in fact, as a rule, work is done on the basis of privilege rather than of duty. Miss Scully has from the first made a study of the boys under her care, and whenever she discovers a special aptitude or trait of character on which the probation officers or the court can build, she sends a statement to the court at the time the boy is brought in. In other words, she has made up a white list of the positive merits and aptitudes of the boys, and has in scores of instances made it possible to develop a boy, by giving a chance for growth in the direction indicated, all of which raises the question of the extent to which skilful vocational training in the public schools would prevent delinquency.

After the detention home removed into the new building and the girls were included, the board of education provided a teacher for them and later a kindergarten teacher for the dependent children.

When the court moved into the new building, a clinic for the medical examination of every child coming into it was established in charge of the Chicago Children's Hospital Society, with the consent and approval of the juvenile court authorities. This has now been taken over by the county board and the nurses and doctors work under civil service rules. The judge and probation officers, therefore, have the benefit of the expert recommendation of a physician in every case.

The experiences of this medical examination led to an endowment by a public-spirited citizen of Chicago, Mrs. W. F. Dummer, permitting a specialist, Dr. William J. Healy, to study for a period of five years the relation of delinquency to physical and mental conditions. The progress and result of this five years' study will be watched with great interest.

In addition to the regular corps of probation officers mentioned, the Chicago court, from the first, has had the services of fifteen or more police officers in citizens' clothes to do probation work. Until last

year these officers have been subject to the authority of their own superiors and of the chief probation officer; but recently sole authority has been granted the chief probation officer, and to him they report in great detail all of their work, which he in turn transmits to the general superintendent of police. This arrangement makes it possible, for the first time, to administer the whole corps of probation officers, police and volunteers with complete unity and efficiency. A system of reports which records everything done for every child placed on probation is at the disposal of the judge in case any child comes into court a second time.

As early as 1906 the Juvenile Protective League was organized to attack the conditions under which children are made delinquent and dependent. In 1907 the Juvenile Court Committee, which up to 1905 had supported probation officers and up to 1907 had maintained the detention home, was wholly relieved of these expenses and turned its efforts to the work of the Juvenile Protective League, whose objects it adopted. The league now has a corps of some eighteen paid workers, under the supervision of an attorney, who enforce all laws, ordinances and rules relating to the care of children, and are rapidly building up boys' clubs, amusement opportunities, and other positive agencies for the welfare of children throughout the city. This league is easily the most encouraging movement supplementary to the juvenile court itself which has been started in Chicago. During the year closing October 18 they investigated 5,470 complaints relative to the care of children and secured 311 convictions in court in their behalf.

The limited institutional opportunities for delinquent boys during the first years of the court led directly to a demand for a state school for delinquent boys in the country. This movement was headed by Judge Richard S. Tuthill of the juvenile court from its foundation until July, 1904. The result was a modern school for delinquent boys on the cottage system opened in 1904 on a farm of 1,000 acres.

As a result of unsatisfactory conditions in the Illinois Industrial School for Girls, which were revealed directly through the workings of the juvenile court, the county authorities appointed a commission to investigate the workings of the school. Its report resulted in the giving up of the old congregate system and the adoption of a cottage system on a farm in the country. Inasmuch as dependent girls can be sent to this school from every county in the state, the State Federation of Women's Clubs has actively cooperated in its further development.

For all the ten years of the court the John Worthy School has

been its chief reliance for the institutional care of delinquent boys. As boys who have done well there frequently have no fit homes to which they may be returned, the present superintendent, John L. Whitman, following a temporary experiment of his predecessor, John J. Sloan, has selected a man living in the country and commissioned by the judge as a probation officer to find homes in the country. Since March, 1908, 120 such boys have been put in charge of this country probation officer to be placed on farms. The results, which have on the whole been remarkably encouraging, should lead to further development of this method of care.

From the first the city has been divided into territorial districts with a probation officer of various nationalities and creeds assigned to each. The children put in the officers' care are likewise of many nationalities and creeds. The consequence is that the officers of one nationality and faith have under their care children of many nationalities and faiths. The thing to be expected under such circumstances would be on the part of eager workers for the welfare of the children, a tendency to proselyte and to urge upon them a form of religious service and religious injunctions with which the probation officers are most familiar and in which they have most faith. The precise opposite of this, however, has developed among the probation officers and with the judge of the juvenile court of Chicago. The Catholic probation officer has been known many times to urge upon a Protestant boy the duty of church attendance with his parents, and upon the Jewish boy the necessity and helpfulness of yielding himself to the religious ministrations of the rabbi and the synagogue. Likewise the Jewish probation officer and the Protestant officer have consistently and effectively urged upon the children of different faiths than their own the helpfulness of the religious service and teachings of the churches with which the parents of the children are most closely affiliated.

Perhaps the most striking instance of this phase of religious toleration in the juvenile court itself was in the case of two Lutheran boys, fresh-cheeked, well-clothed, manly looking fellows of about sixteen, who had stolen from the plate in their own church on Good Friday. The Jewish judge, having kept them in the detention school for two weeks to think the matter over, had them brought before him a second time. As they stood shamefaced and penitent, he said to them: "Boys, you forgot what day it was when you stole from the plate of your church on Good Friday, and you forgot that on the hill outside the city of Jerusalem were three figures hanging

and the one on either side was a thief. Boys, go home and live up to the religion of your fathers and your mothers." Charges of exactly this spirit are a common thing in the juvenile court, whether the judge be Catholic, Protestant or Jew.

No personal experience has been more inspiring and helpful in every way than my close acquaintance and co-operative work, day by day through a period of more than four years, with the body of probation officers, both regular and police, who have thus cast aside racial and religious intolerance and worked shoulder to shoulder for the welfare of the boys and girls in our common care.

SOME THINGS TO BE DONE

While it has been necessary to state in this article some very moderate successes, even some mistakes and failures of the juvenile court work as a whole, and while, too, it has been possible to claim some very encouraging successes, it is necessary for the progressive juvenile court worker to bear always in mind that there are yet many things to be done before the ideals which created the juvenile court movement are fully realized. Some of our concrete problems in Chicago are:

Because the John Worthy School is on the same ground with the City House of Correction and because of the limited territory inside the city, the friends of the juvenile court boys of Chicago will never be satisfied until it is transferred bodily to the country and established in an up-to-date cottage system on a large farm. Some very important steps have been taken in the last two years by an enlargement of the grounds and by an increase in the variety of industrial training given the boys. But the political and administrative problem of moving the school to the country remains unsolved.

Perhaps the greatest administrative problem before the friends of the juvenile court of a great city like Chicago is the unifying of the work of the probate, county, and police or municipal courts with the juvenile court, so far as all children's cases are concerned. This has not as yet been properly formulated in Chicago, much less worked out. It is absolutely essential, however, that the problem be both formulated and satisfactorily solved if the care of children through court agency is to become even moderately satisfactory. The least that can be demanded in the situation is an absolutely unified probation system for all of the children who have been made subject to court orders throughout the city.

School Room in the Detention Home of the Chicago Juvenile Court

Inasmuch as the work of a probation officer is primarily that of an educator, all friends of the juvenile court should unite in demanding that all probation officers have special training for the work they are to undertake. It is no disparagement to the noble men and women who have hitherto taken up the work and carried it on successfully, to make this demand that their work be placed upon the same basis as that of teachers, doctors, lawyers and nurses. Hitherto no one has given much attention to the development either of this demand or to the method of meeting it.

Perhaps the most fundamental fact revealed by the recent investigation of delinquent children of the Chicago court is the intimate relation of delinquency to truancy and dependency. In a great majority of cases of delinquent boys, the economic, family and school conditions of the child were unsatisfactory. It has long been possible for the charity worker, the truant officer and the school teacher to prophesy that the children of certain families would develop into delinquents. It is the duty and the opportunity of an efficient community to care so well for its truant and dependent children from the very moment when such a prophecy can be made, that it will never be realized. It perhaps goes without saying that in Chicago, at least, such a community efficiency has not yet been developed.

The mere statement of the fact referred to early in this article—that only fifty-five per cent of the delinquent girls put under probation had failed to return to court—is enough to challenge the student's inquiry as to why this is so. When the inquiry is made, however, he will find among juvenile court workers a very general confession of ignorance and inability to give a satisfactory answer. The fact that there is a delinquent girl problem of great magnitude and infinite sadness has been forced upon the attention of all juvenile court workers, but the formulation of the problems involved has not yet been adequately made, much less a solution of them found.

In short, the life of the delinquent boy and girl is rooted in the whole great problem of individual character and social adjustment. Hence it is the never-solved, but always-to-be-solved problem of the juvenile court so to care for and restore to normal human life the delinquent child, that the very process of this care and restoration may contribute directly to the development of character, and at the same time suggest ways by which the social maladjustments which caused the delinquencies may be brought to an end.

CHAPTER XXIII

JUVENILE PROBATION IN NEW YORK

By HOMER FOLKS *
President New York State Probation Commission

IN order to understand the development of juvenile probation in New York it is necessary to bear in mind the general trend of local government in that state. New York is a "home rule" state. It has great diversity of population and cities of widely different characteristics. Probably as a result of this great diversity, the tendency to allow each community to work out all local problems for itself is very marked. Anything like a "general system" of anything is looked upon askance. Any new power to be conferred upon municipalities, counties, or other local governmental units, is apt to be conferred in discretionary form. Occasionally, through the sagacity and skill of some genius, diverse local developments are welded into a unified system, sometimes preserving the old names and forms. The courts of the state were to a very large extent welded into a harmonious system through the genius of Elihu Root, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the last Constitutional Convention. The various systems for the care of the insane were discarded for a completely unified state system through the efforts of Louisa Lee Schuyler. In the main, however, local administration presents little of uniformity or of symmetrical development.

It was quite in keeping with the trend of thought in New York that its first probation law, enacted in 1901, presented an extreme instance of "home rule" and of absence of general regulations. It provided that each court in every city in the state should appoint probation officers. These probation officers might be private citizens or court clerks, or police officers or assistants from the district attorney's office. They were to make investigations of defendants when so directed by the court, and were to report upon the conduct of persons placed on probation as the court might direct. The length of the probationary period and the terms and conditions of the probation

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were to be fixed in each instance, within some limitations, by the court. Offenders under sixteen years of age were excluded from the provisions of the act.

The statute was drafted by the late Samuel J. Barrows, then secretary of the New York Prison Association, and to his initiative and perseverance we owe the passage of the New York law. In securing the passage of the act, Dr. Barrows was obliged to make a number of concessions. He was undoubtedly wise in making such concessions to the extent necessary to secure the passage of the measure. The ground thus lost has been regained in part only and with exceeding difficulty. The exclusion of juvenile offenders from the operation of the act was a concession to the demands of the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. The provision which permitted police officers to serve as probation officers caused Dr. Barrows much concern at the time. In these particulars, as in others, the wisdom of his original position has been demonstrated by the actual operations of the statute.

The exclusion of children from the probation law was removed in 1903, largely through the initiative of Dennis McCarthy, chairman of the children's courts committee of the state board of charities, now fiscal supervisor of charities. In securing this modification a provision was inserted that officers of societies for the prevention of cruelty to children might be appointed probation officers. At the same time the law was applied to all parts of the state, having before applied only to cities. Legislation in 1904 and 1905 permitted the payment of salaries to probation officers by cities and villages and in 1908 this power was given to counties.

In 1905, owing to the large number of amendments to the probation law suggested from various quarters, the legislature provided for a temporary commission to inquire into the operations of probation and to submit recommendations to the following legislature. The report of this commission, submitted in March, 1906, contained a detailed account of the operations of both juvenile and adult probation in various portions of the state. The commission submitted a proposed chapter of the general laws to deal with the subject of probation, creating a more or less harmonious and comprehensive system. The opposition of various judges and societies was sufficient to prevent the passage of this legislation, but in 1907 the legislature established a permanent state probation commission, with powers of inquiry and suggestion.

The State Probation Commission is to keep itself informed of

the work of probation officers throughout the state; to inquire from time to time into their conduct and efficiency; to collect and publish statistics and other information, and to secure the effective application of the probation system and enforcement of the probation law in all parts of the state. Broadly speaking, it is thus made the duty of the commission to secure by general supervision, by publicity, by conferences, and by recommendations, the establishment of harmonious and effective probation work throughout the state, instead of securing the same by statutory enactment, as was proposed in 1906. The commission has an office in the capitol at Albany, a secretary, and a small clerical force. It secures monthly statistical reports from probation officers, has prepared a set of blanks and reports for the use of probation officers (which it furnishes gratuitously to all probation officers desiring them), and issues leaflets, pamphlets, and an annual report, which are sent to judges and probation officers throughout the state. Probably the most important part of its work, however, is informal conferences with judges and probation officers. Its secretary, Arthur W. Towne, formerly secretary of the Associated Charities of Syracuse, has visited all the cities of the state, calling on the judges and on the probation officers, where such were appointed. He has also interviewed a large number of county judges. The commission itself has held meetings in a number of different cities; has held three conferences of probation officers, and has recently held a conference of city magistrates in the state (outside of New York City), the first conference of the kind in the history of the state.

During the past year over 2000 children were placed on probation in 27 cities and about a dozen towns and villages in New York state. These statistics do not include children in the children's court in the borough of Manhattan.

In considering the contribution which the state of New York may offer to the development of probation in the country at large, we may look first to the varied experiences of different cities which have adopted various methods; and secondly, to the extent of the influence which a state probation commission can exert in the development of effective work.

In the city of Buffalo, under a special provision of the charter, the appointment of probation officers for juveniles was authorized in 1901, although juveniles were excluded from the general probation law enacted that year. It was provided, however, that such probation officers should serve without compensation, and the number at

first was limited to five. A juvenile court was organized in 1901, the first separate children's court in the state, and a large number of probation officers were soon appointed. Some of them were agents of charitable societies, two were attendance officers of the department of education, others were professional or business men, and a considerable number were women. The treatment of each child was left very largely to the volunteer probation officer, and no reports were required by the court. The term of probation could be extended by the probation officer without resort to the court. There was very little of conference between the different probation officers. In some cases only one or two children were placed under an individual probation officer; in other cases the number was very large. One professional man received 150 children on probation.

The temporary state probation commission of 1905 found a very general impression in Buffalo that the volunteer juvenile probation system, coupled with the extreme disinclination on the part of the judges to commit even confirmed offenders to an institution, had broken down; that probation had largely become meaningless and without value; that it lacked the elements of dignity and authority. While some children had doubtless been benefited by kindly treatment at the hands of friendly probation officers, the system had utterly failed to exercise a restraining influence over children disposed to continue in evil ways.

One of the first steps taken by the permanent state probation commission after its appointment and organization was to accept the invitation of the newly elected judge of the juvenile court in Buffalo, Simon A. Nash, to submit suggestions as to the reorganization of probation work. The suggestions included the appointment of a salaried chief probation officer. Provision was made by the city authorities for the payment of a salary, and a competitive examination was held by the local civil service commission, assisted by a member of the state probation commission and by a former volunteer probation officer who was a member of the local civil service reform association. The manner of conducting this examination and the eligible list resulting from it were such as to command the confidence and approbation of the citizens of Buffalo generally. A police officer was detailed by the police department to the juvenile court at the request of the judge, to act as investigator. Gradually volunteers were reappointed, and an effort is being made to work out a satisfactory organization of the salaried and volunteer service. The present judge, who is taking a marked interest in the development of the

court, is somewhat sceptical as to securing important results from volunteers, while admitting that there are individual instances of notably devoted and effective service. In January, 1910, an additional salaried probation officer was appointed.

Juvenile probation in Buffalo may therefore be said to have shown that unsupervised volunteer probation breaks down; that probation can be used indiscriminately and thus defeat its purpose; that a competitive examination can be so held as to afford a satisfactory eligible list; that a police officer can be a valuable investigator (although in the writer's opinion he would be still more valuable if he were not a police officer); and that an effective plan for combining volunteer and paid service is being sought for with hopes of satisfactory results.

Rochester furnishes another instance of the development of volunteer probation, in its case aided by a salaried agent of the society for the prevention of cruelty to children. The volunteers also were in most cases selected by and members of that society. There was little of supervision of the work of the volunteers either by the court or by the salaried executive of the society. In some instances the work done was undoubtedly very efficient and valuable; in others the reports seem to leave little doubt that the homes of the children had been visited infrequently (if at all) and that the actual information gained by the probation officer was inadequate, even if reported to the court (and it was not always so reported) to enable the court to form any satisfactory judgment of the child's behavior.

In Rochester, also, since the date of that investigation and on the request of the court and of the society referred to, the state probation commission has assisted in securing the establishment of a paid service. The position of salaried chief probation officer of the juvenile court has been established, a salary of $1,200 a year has been provided by the city authorities, and a competitive examination was held by two members of the state probation commission at the request of, and acting in behalf of, the municipal service commission. Among those taking the examination were the superintendent and assistant superintendent of the society for the prevention of cruelty to children, the former of whom stood at the head of the resulting eligible list and received the appointment. The experience of Rochester, therefore, includes the development of a salaried official as the unifying, co-ordinating and supervising factor. The volunteer service continues, and it is considered by all concerned to be of con-

siderable value, though it is difficult to hold all the volunteers to reasonable standards of efficiency.

In Syracuse, where a separate children's court had already been established in 1905, the salaried agent of the society for the prevention of cruelty to children had served as the probation officer of the juvenile court for some two years. The homes of the children on probation were visited occasionally. He admitted that his other duties were so onerous that he had little time to devote to probation. Shortly after that time the position of salaried chief probation officer, serving for both adults and juveniles, was established and filled as the result of a competitive examination. Some effort has been made to supplement his services by the appointment of volunteers. In a few instances the assistance rendered by the volunteers has been decidedly valuable. In the majority of cases it appears to be difficult to secure reports regularly, or, in fact, to secure positive evidence that actual work has been done by them. The Syracuse experience is favorable to the salaried system and the competitive examination.

In Yonkers, where there had been volunteer probation service since 1904, a paid officer for children was appointed in 1906. Since that time the number of volunteers has increased. The experience in Syracuse and Yonkers, like that in Buffalo and Rochester, demonstrates that volunteers should be selected with great care; that they require direction and supervision; and that if capable and faithful volunteers are secured, and too many cases are not given them, good results may be expected. The keystone of the probation system is, however, the paid officer.

In Utica there was no definite probation work until 1906, when a salaried probation officer serving for both adults and juveniles was provided. He has felt the need of volunteer assistants, especially in the supervision of women and girls; and within the last month one woman volunteer has been appointed. The paid officers in Amsterdam, Auburn, Watertown, and the other cities which have provided salaries, receive so few cases that they do not as a rule require the aid of volunteers. In other places the work is still carried on entirely by volunteers or by persons paid from private funds.

In Schenectady, Albany, Troy and several smaller cities, the salaried agents of the Mohawk and Hudson River Humane Society have acted for some five years or more as probation officers, making this a definite and important part of their work. The probationary oversight exercised by the Schenectady agent, C. W. Abbott, was highly commended by the original state probation commission. The

work of the chief probation officer in Albany, who also serves in Troy, Rensselaer and Watervliet, was favorably considered, except that the pressure of his other duties was such as to make impossible, in the judgment of the commission, a sufficient visitation of the homes of the probationers. The influence of the Mohawk and Hudson River Humane Society has been generally against the establishment of salaried positions. It is to be hoped that the success of the plan, particularly in the city of Rochester, where, in an open competitive examination, the agent of such a society secured first place on the eligible list and appointment as chief probation officer, will perhaps lead such societies to look with more favor upon providing adequate service for the amount of work to be done, even though it involves the payment of salaries from the public treasury. In a number of counties these societies have assisted in securing salaried probation service.

In Brooklyn, Judge Robert J. Wilkin, who drafted the Brooklyn Children's Court Law, and has presided over the court more frequently than any other member of the bench from which the judge sitting in the children's court from time to time is designated, has up to this time felt that the establishment of the position of paid probation officer would lead to political appointments if the position were exempt, and to unsuitable appointments if it were competitive. For this reason he has favored either volunteer service or the appointment of persons receiving salaries from private societies. Protestant, Jewish and Catholic agencies have each provided one probation officer, although these officers have other duties to perform besides their probation work. Even though the court had full time on the part of all three officers, the volume of work in that rapidly growing borough far exceeds that which can be undertaken successfully by three persons. The Catholic probation officer particularly has so large a number of children under his supervision that adequate home visitation is admittedly impossible.

In the children's court in Manhattan the conditions have been unusual and perplexing. The existing practices were described at length in the report of the original state probation commission. The court follows the practice of parole as distinguished from probation. The periods of parole are short, and during this period the children are under the observation of the agents of the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. At the end of the period of parole, sentence is suspended if the child has done well. No further reports are made to the court, and the child if a Protestant is placed under the oversight of a Big Brother; if a Catholic, under the vol-

untary supervision of a committee of ladies of that faith; and if Jewish, under an agent, formerly provided by the Educational Alliance, but now receiving a salary as probation officer in a court for adults. These various agencies, however, are in no sense representatives of the court, and act only in a friendly capacity and after the period of parole is terminated. The term "parole" as used in this court signifies practically an adjournment of the case. The oversight of children on parole is not clearly separated from the other work of the agents of the society for the prevention of cruelty to children.

To sum up the New York City experience, it may safely be said that in Brooklyn the inadequacy of assistance provided from private sources has been demonstrated; while in Manhattan it is perhaps best to accept the formal statement that there are no probation officers attached to the court, and hence no probation.

As to the second contribution of the state of New York to the general subject—the possible usefulness of a state probation commission—it is evident from the foregoing sketch that the commission has been instrumental in securing the establishment of a number of salaried positions, and that it has assisted in making competitive examinations for probation officers and reasonable tests of efficiency practical. The commission also has drafted all the important bills relating to legislation which have been passed since its establishment. Of the blanks provided by the commission for use by probation officers in their respective courts, over 112,000 have been supplied upon requisition. They are in general use in the majority of the courts using probation. That the standards of probation service have been improved through the requiring of monthly reports, through the issuing of literature, through the making of detailed inquiries from time to time, and through the continuing possibility of searching investigation of the work of any particular probation officer, is not to be doubted. Many probation officers and judges have voluntarily commented on the value of the conferences which have been held. The greater use of probation by courts throughout the state is undoubtedly due in considerable degree to the publicity given to the subject by the commission. While the working out of an efficient and comprehensive plan by the local political divisions of the state through the opinion, suggestion, recommendation and inquiries of the commission is a slow process, and while the writer has not departed from his opinion that the statutory scheme submitted in 1905 was a shorter cut, material progress is being made on a plan which is undoubtedly more nearly in accord with the trend of administration in the state.

The most important legislation secured by the present state probation commission is that enacted in 1908 and 1909, authorizing the payment of salaries to probation officers by counties as well as by cities, and authorizing a county probation officer to serve without other or further appointment in all minor courts of the county. It is hoped that in this law may be found the germs of an adequate probation system for the smaller cities and villages and for the rural portions of the state. In every county of the state (with possibly a few exceptions) there is sufficient probation work to require the full time of a competent probation officer. This legislation follows in the main the statutes of New Jersey, where it has been demonstrated that one probation officer can serve effectively in several different localities in a county. Although the New York statute was enacted in 1909, several counties have already acted under it, and in them the state probation commission has circularized justices of the peace and magistrates in the smaller cities, calling attention to the law and urging that in suitable instances the services of the county probation officer be called on.

Another form of helpful service which seems likely to find considerable development in New York is the Volunteer Probation Association. This may be either an association of volunteer probation officers, or, as is more frequently the case, a voluntary society to promote effective probation work, to assist in securing public appropriations, to collect funds from private sources, and to give to the probation service a stimulus and support something like that afforded the penal system of the state by the Prison Association, and the state charitable institutions by the State Charities Aid Association. There are already twelve such probation associations in the state, the strongest perhaps being the New York Probation Association, which maintains Waverly House as a temporary shelter for women placed on probation, and whose secretary, Maude E. Miner, has served as probation officer in the Night Court in New York City and is an authority on the use of probation for female offenders.

As to the precise extent to which probation exercises an ultimate and saving reformatory influence upon its beneficiaries, we must ask for a suspension of judgment. Undoubtedly it is a very valuable feature in many cases, but just how valuable and in just how many cases, we shall not know for some time to come. We have had juvenile reformatories for more than three-quarters of a century, but the question as to whether reformatories reform has not been answered to the complete satisfaction of the scientific inquirer. With

a more careful analysis as to the offenses and conduct of those placed on probation, and a more uniformly efficient probation service, we should be able a few years hence to reach a somewhat authoritative finding, based on actual results, as to the scope and limitations of the value of probation.

Meanwhile, without conclusive evidence based on the statistical study of results, we believe in and seek to improve and extend the system, because it is in harmony with what we know about human nature and with the principles that are found effective in other forms of remedial work.

PART SEVEN

MISCELLANEOUS PREVENTIVE AGENCIES

CHAPTER XXIV

STUDY OF THE PROBLEMS OF NEGLECTED CHILDREN

NUMEROUS conventions, associations and schools are engaged in the study of the problems of neglected childhood.

The National Prison Association, from its organization, has been accustomed to discuss, not only the duties of the state in dealing with juvenile delinquents in courts and reformatories, by parole and probation, but also the problems of the dependent and neglected child as well as the primary causes and the more remote preventive remedies. The proceedings of the congress abound in papers and discussions on the subject, and some of the most active members of the Prison Association have been most fruitful in proposing and executing efficient child-helping measures.

The National Conference of Charities and Correction has maintained a series of sections and committees on the preventive treatment of neglected children. It has had committees on dependent children, delinquent children, defective children, child labor, children's playgrounds, etc. At some of its annual meetings it has had three or four committees on children in a single year; but for several years all of these committees have been brought together in one general committee on children, whose sessions have been attended by large numbers of delegates, and whose discussions have enlisted the participation of the ablest social students.

At some of the meetings of the National Conference, more than half of the entire program has been devoted to questions relating to the child. The discussions have not been simply academic; they have dealt with the practical questions of organization, administration and education, and they have produced tangible results in the administration of public and private institutions for children, the development of new methods and the discarding of long established institutions and policies. An examination of the proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction of 1882, 1886, 1889, 1898, 1899, and 1906 will illustrate the far-reaching influence of these discussions.

The state conferences of charities have followed the example of the national conference and have made the problem of the neglected child in its different phases the chief subject of their discussions. The Illinois State Conference of Charities devoted its entire session of two days, in 1898, to the discussion of needed legislation for children. That conference appointed a committee to co-ordinate the different agencies of the state, formulate proper legislation and secure its enactment. The result was the juvenile court law enacted by the Illinois state legislature of 1899.

There is a national organization known as the Conference on Backward, Truant, Delinquent and Dependent Children, which meets annually, just preceding the National Conference of Charities and Correction. Its discussions are carried on by people who are directly engaged in the work of juvenile courts, juvenile reformatories, institutions for dependent children, child-helping societies, etc. These people carry home with them, and put into effect the practical suggestions which come from these discussions.

The National Playground Association maintains an active propaganda for the spread of the splendid playground movement to all parts of the country, and that movement has become recognized as one of the most effective preventive agencies in existence.

The national and state Mothers' Congresses, the national and state Federations of Women's Clubs, the annual meeting of the Florence Crittenden Missions; the annual conference of the National Children's Home Society, the annual conference of superintendents of institutions for feeble-minded, the occasional conferences of probation officers, the newly organized Child-Welfare Conference held at Worcester, Mass., and the National Education Association, with other social and philanthropic organizations, discuss these problems from year to year.

The White House Conference called by President Roosevelt in 1909 was followed by children's conferences and children's institutes in Pittsburgh, Portland, Me., and Ft. Worth, Texas. Similar conferences are about to be held in Cleveland and Detroit.

The National Child Labor Committee was organized in 1904. "The Committee seeks to give information regarding child labor laws in the various states and in foreign countries and to aid in improvement of laws and in their enforcement."

In five years, inspection departments for the enforcement of child labor laws have been established in 13 states and the District of Columbia, as follows:

Alabama
Colorado
Delaware
Kansas
Louisiana
Maryland
Mississippi
North Dakota
South Carolina
Texas
Tennessee
Virginia
District of Columbia

In five years the eight-hour day for children has been established in 10 states and the District of Columbia, as follows:

Arizona (Laundries)
Colorado
Kansas
Illinois
Nebraska
New York (Factories)
North Dakota
Ohio
Wisconsin (Tobacco)
District of Columbia

Within five years the following six states and the District of Columbia have passed child labor laws for the first time:

Delaware
Florida
Georgia
Mississippi
Nevada
Oklahoma
District of Columbia

In 1904, the fourteen-year age limit applied to factories, stores, etc., in 12 states. In 1910 it applied to 19 states, and the law now includes offices, laundries, hotels, theatres and bowling alleys. The following statement shows the age limit in mines in 1904 and 1910:

Age Limit	1904	1910
16 years	..	6 states
15 "	1 state	..
14 "	19 states	18 states
12 "	5 "	8 "
	25 states	32 states

In 1904, employment was forbidden during school hours in 14 states; in 1910, in 23 states; in 1904, night work was prohibited in 13 states. In 23 states there was absolutely no prohibition of night work. In 1910 night work was prohibited in 23 states under sixteen years; in seven states under fourteen years; in two states under twelve years, which shows restriction in 39 states, as against 13 states five years ago.

In the last five years, six states have passed their first compulsory educational law, namely:

Arkansas	Oklahoma
Missouri .	Tennessee
North Carolina	Virginia

and the age limit for compulsory attendance has been raised in five other states.

Need for the work of the National Child Labor Committee is seen in the fact that the census of 1900 showed 1,750,000 children at work between the ages of ten and sixteen years, or nearly one in six of the entire child population. These figures did not include newsboys. Child labor increased from 1880 to 1900, 12 per cent faster than the child population of the country.

Annual child labor conferences have been held under the auspices of the committee for the past five years. The committee maintains offices in New York, Atlanta, Boston and Cincinnati.

The work of the Child Labor Committee tends to diminish juvenile vagrancy in two ways: on the one hand by relieving the destructive effects of over-exertion upon children and on the other hand by promoting the educational opportunities of the children.

These educational influences have been strengthened during the past ten years by the development of the New York School of Philanthropy, The Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, the Boston School for Social Workers, the St. Louis School of Social Economy and the Philadelphia School for Children's Workers.

All of these agencies together are exercising a tremendous educational force, which is raising the standards of preventive work, standardizing the work and calling into it an increasing number of devoted and trained men and women. With this educational movement there is accumulating a large quantity of helpful literature from such writers as Jane Addams, Julia C. Lathrop, Mrs. John M. Glenn, Homer Folks, Charles R. Henderson, Charles W. Birtwell, R. R. Reeder, and Alexander Johnson.

CHAPTER XXV

THE STUDY OF THE CHILD

THROUGH the study of the general problem of the neglected child, there came gradually the recognition of what Mr. William H. Pear has described as "the need of diagnosis." It came to be recognized that much of our effort in behalf of the neglected child went to waste for lack of understanding the actual and individual needs of the child. Through the studies of such men as the late Dr. Isaac M. Kerlin it was discovered that many children who are classed as delinquent are mentally or physically defective and that ordinary reformatory methods are worse than useless, as applied to them.

More recently, through the efforts of such men as Professor Lightner Witmer of Philadelphia, Dr. Arthur C. Jelly of Boston and Dr. Henry H. Goddard of Vineland, N. J., there has been developed a science of clinical and psychological study of children, which is already producing large results in Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Pittsburgh and Rochester, and it is evident that this new science is to play an important part in all future preventive efforts.

It is difficult to obtain detailed information with reference to the matter of clinical work for children in the United States. Thus far very little has been formulated, and, so far as the writer is informed, the subject has not been comprehensively treated.

In answer to inquiry, Dr. D. P. MacMillan, director of the child-study department of the board of education of Chicago, writes as follows:

"It is difficult to outline what is meant by the 'systematic child-study' movement. We of course have our own ideas as to what this means. Others indeed claim that the work began long before we attempted to undertake it. May I give you in a very brief form some of the most important landmarks?

"In 1879 Dr. Henry B. Bowditch's work was begun with the Boston school children. This was in the nature of a formal commission for the investigation of the physical aspects of growth. One of Dr. Bowditch's pupils, Dr. Peckham, carried on the same work in

connection with the Milwaukee school children in 1881. These tests and measurements were enlarged by Dr. D. Townsend Porter, and in 1892 permission was secured from the school board of St. Louis to give these tests. They were again repeated by Dr. Franz Boaz in 1895 in Worcester, and the same year by Dr. West at Toronto. These were not, however, regularly organized departments supported by public investigations, and with them we have nothing to do.

"In the year 1880, G. Stanley Hall began some work with children in the kindergarten and the first grade in the city of Boston, using a questionnaire that had been employed by the schoolmasters' union in Germany, in two or three cities. This was the origin of what we call the investigation of "the contents of children's minds on entering school at six years." It was a purely private affair, and for the purposes of information for the students engaging in the work as well as for the usual academic interest. Since that time, universities and colleges have been making sporadic incursions into schools to examine or investigate certain features of work or certain problems.

"In September, 1899, the Department of Child-Study and Pedagogic Investigation of Chicago was organized. In January, 1903, I became director of this department. Our work is confined to research with normal children and very practical work with exceptional children of all sorts, both as to their care and treatment and as to their education.

"The Chicago Board of Education in 1899, authorized the appointment of a special committee to consider the desirability of establishing in the school system of Chicago, an independent department for child-study and pedagogic investigation. The committee submitted a report to the board September 6, 1899, which was adopted without amendment, and from which the following extract is taken:

"'There are many problems in pedagogy and child life, the solution of which can throw much light on educational procedures and materially assist in the school work; it is also desirable to have in the system a mechanism to determine, when possible, the relative value of various pedagogic methods; the varying educational needs of our large population, with its great diversity of nationalities and social peculiarities, should have accurate investigation by scientific methods; the great problems connected with dull and backward children call for earnest investigation; the type of child to be found in the parental school should also be considered. From these and other considerations we believe that there should be in the school system a department for the investigation of educational and child-study

problems. The work of such a department should be limited to such of the various problems as may arise, as have a distinct pedagogic bearing and educational value; its work should be conducted in accordance with approved scientific methods, especially the methods of physiological psychology. It should be its duty to make such investigations in child-study and pedagogy as may be suggested by the head of the department and approved by the superintendent of schools and the standing committee in charge of the department.

"'We recommend to the board for its adoption the following:

1. That there be and is hereby established in the school system of Chicago, a department of child-study and pedagogic investigation, consisting of a director and such assistants as may, from time to time, be appointed to make such psycho-physical and allied investigations having a pedagogic bearing, as may be suggested by the director and approved by the superintendent of schools and the committee in charge of the work; and also to give such instruction to the principals and the teachers in the schools as may be directed by the superintendent of schools and the committee.

2. Qualifications of the Director.—The director shall hold a principal's certificate and be an expert in the methods of physiological psychology.

3. Qualifications of Assistants.—Assistants must hold a grammar school teacher's certificate and pass an additional examination on the methods employed in the laboratories of physiological psychology. Instead of these certificates a special certificate covering the same grounds may be issued by the board on examination of candidates.

4. That a standing committee of five be appointed to have charge of the department.'

"The board, in 1898, authorized an examination of the eyes and ears of all the school children of the city upon a plan devised by Dr. Frank Allport, and used in numerous school systems throughout the country. Dr. Allport gave instruction to many teachers in the city upon the methods to be employed, and the work was carried out the next school year. Owing, however, to the fact that Dr. Allport had no official connection with the schools, and nobody was specifically charged with the conduct of the work, it fell into abeyance. Upon the recommendation of the committee, this work was, on April 4, 1900, put in the charge of this department. Accordingly, all the pupils were examined by their several teachers, and reports made

to the director of this department. This work calls the attention of each teacher to the visual and aural defects of the children under her care, a knowledge of which facts on her part must be of great value, both to her and to the pupils.

"In the report of a preliminary investigation attention was called to the wide diversity of physical development of the pupils in individual rooms, and it was pointed out that the classes in physical culture should be arranged upon a physical, instead of an intellectual basis.

"The preliminary investigation established clearly that in each room there was a great range of physical capacity and endurance among the different pupils; it also established the fact that this differentiation constantly increased from the first grade to the eighth. It was also claimed that these facts called for increasing elasticity in the school work, and that such elasticity was especially called for in the upper grammar grades.

"At its meeting of April 4, 1900, the board authorized the establishment of a psycho-physical laboratory in the department and appropriated $250 for the purchase of apparatus. As soon as the apparatus could be gotten together the laboratory was opened in a partially unused room connected with the offices of the board. To the laboratory backward or difficult pupils were brought from any school in the system, by the principals, upon previous arrangement with the director of child-study. Each pupil was subjected to a careful and thorough psycho-physical examination and such advice given as the results obtained suggest to the trained psychologists in charge. Miss Luella Heinroth, the principal of the Schiller School, brought to the laboratory some fifteen backward pupils, and after obtaining the results of the thorough investigation of each of them, very wisely asked that an ungraded room be established in her school for their benefit.

"The principles involved in the establishment of this particular ungraded room were the following:

1. Limitation of the maximum number of pupils in the room to twenty.

2. Requiring all pupils who are to be assigned to the room, to be first examined in the child-study laboratory.

3. Requiring the course of study used in such a room to be specially determined for such room, by the superintendent of schools, the assistant superintendent of the district, and the director of child-study.

4. Requiring that the teacher assigned to such room shall be experienced in actual teaching, and sufficiently versed in psychology and human anatomy, physiology and pathology to thoroughly understand and appreciate the results of the psycho-physical examination made in the laboratory, so that proper advantage may be taken of the results for the highest benefit of the pupils.

"There will always be found in the school system a class of pupils who are so backward that they gain little or nothing from the ordinary course of instruction and whose presence in the general class room is distinctly detrimental to the remaining pupils, but who are yet not so deficient mentally as to justify sending them to the state institution for the feeble-minded. Such pupils must be cared for in the common schools, but justice to them and to the more normal pupils demands that the two classes be separated and the backward pupils placed in the so-called 'ungraded rooms.'

"In conclusion we give the following brief outline of the objects and functions of the Department of Child-Study and Pedagogic Investigation:

I. Research Work

(a) Collecting anthropometric and psycho-physical data for the purpose of establishing norms, and for determining such relationship as may be of service in pedagogy.

(b) Applying accurate scientific methods to specific pedagogic problems, particularly methods of teaching, and determination of the pedagogic value of various studies.

II. Examination of individual pupils with a view to advising as to their pedagogic management.

III. Instruction to teachers in child-study and psychology.

"Special studies were made of a large number of boys committed to the John Worthy School (a juvenile reformatory) and the Chicago Parental School (for truants and troublesome school boys). It was found that these boys, as a class, were physically inferior and this physical inferiority appeared to increase with age. It was agreed that 'this physical inferiority means, broadly, malnutrition,' and a committee of the board of education recommended 'That in the management of the parental school the physical care of the inmates be made a matter of fundamental care and that to this end great attention be paid to the dietary of the institution, that it be wholesome, nutritious and sufficient; that provision be made for physical exercise, sufficient and not excessive in amount and of a character adapted to the needs of the inmates; that ample and varied bathing

accommodations be provided; that clothing adapted to the weather and the occupation of the school be provided."

In the city of Chicago, there was established in 1909 a special department in connection with the juvenile court for the clinical study of children brought into that court. This department is under the charge of Dr. W. J. Healy and is already producing important results.

Prof. Lightner Witmer of the department of psychology in the University of Pennsylvania has for several years conducted a clinic for the study and treatment of mentally defective children. A great number of cases have been examined and treatment for them has been prescribed, in many cases with wonderfully gratifying results.

Dr. Henry H. Goddard of Vineland, N. J., has been developing some interesting studies of children coming under his observation in the institution for feeble-minded children. He has made exhibits of the apparatus, methods and results at different public conferences.

Systematic clinical work is now maintained as follows: *

Boston, Public Schools, under Dr. Arthur C. Jelly

Chicago, Public Schools, under Dr. D. P. MacMillan

Chicago, Juvenile Court, under Dr. W. J. Healy

Philadelphia, Psychological Department, University of Pennsylvania, under Dr. Lightner Witmer.

Seattle, at State University, under Prof. H. C. Stevens.

Hampden-Sidney College, Va., under Prof. Stevenson Smith.

Mr. H. Addington Bruce says in a paper on "Psychology and Daily Life" in *The Outlook* of June 23, 1910: "Modern psychology proffers aid to the parent, the educator, the sociologist, the criminologist, the lawyer, the judge, the manufacturer, merchant, and artisan, the writer, public speaker, artist, and musician.

"Only a comparatively short time ago, it is true, this could not be said. As late as the seventies of the last century, psychology was regarded, and not without reason, as one of the most impractical of sciences. . . . All this was changed with the establishment by Professor Wundt at Leipzig University of the first laboratory for experimental psychology. Wundt and his pupils, and other experimenters in various countries, invented and perfected apparatus and methods for investigating the processes of the human mind with a precision impossible to earlier psychologists. Such instruments as the chronoscope for measuring, even to thousandths of a second, the rapidity of thought, the sphygmograph for studying the emotions, and the ergograph for ascertaining the exact characteristics and con-

* See pages 282 ff.

sequences of fatigue, together with the discovery of the tremendous value of hypnotism and hypnoidism as means of getting at subconscious mental states, have enabled psychologists to make more progress during the past thirty years than throughout the previous two thousand years of the history of psychology.

"Of course, as an applied science psychology is still in its infancy, and holds more of promise to mankind than of actual achievement. Yet . . . it is now being applied with striking results in such diverse fields as education, social reform, law, commerce, and industry. Of its utilization as an aid in education a most impressive example is found in the work carried on at the psychological clinic of the University of Pennsylvania in behalf of the mentally retarded children of Philadelphia. The clinic was first established in 1896, and its origin and development are interestingly described in the following statement by its director, Professor Lightner Witmer:

"'The occasion was given for the inception of this work by a public school teacher, who brought to the psychological laboratory of the University of Pennsylvania a boy fourteen years of age for advice concerning the best methods of teaching him, in view of his chronic bad spelling. Her assumption was that psychology should be able to discover the cause of his deficiency and advise the means of removing it. Up to that time I could not find that the science of psychology had ever addressed itself to the ascertainment of the causes and treatment of a deficiency in spelling; yet this is a simple developmental defect of memory, and memory is a mental process concerning which the science of psychology is supposed to furnish authoritative information. It appeared to me that if psychology was worth anything to me or to others, it should be able to assist the efforts of the teacher in a retarded case of this kind.

"'The absence of any principles to guide me made it necessary to apply myself directly to the study of the mental and physical condition of this child, working out my methods as I went along. I discovered that the important factor in producing bad spelling in this case was an eye defect. After this defect had been corrected, his teacher and I worked together to instruct him as one would a mere beginner in the art of spelling and reading. In the spring of 1896, when this case was brought to me, I saw several other cases of children suffering from the retardation of some special function, like that of spelling, or from general retardation, and I undertook the training of these children for a certain number of hours each week. Since that time the laboratory of psychology has been open for the

examination of children who have come chiefly from the public schools of Philadelphia and adjacent cities. The University of Pennsylvania thus opened an educational dispensary. It is in effect a laboratory of applied psychology, maintained since 1896 by the University of Pennsylvania for the scientific study and remedial treatment of defects of development.

"'During the early years of its existence the psychological clinic was open for a few hours on one day of each week. As the knowledge of its work grew the demand increased, and soon the clinic was open for three days of each week. Although the experiment of holding a daily clinic was first tried in the summer of 1897, during the six weeks of the Summer School, it was not until last fall that regular daily clinics were established. About three new cases a day are seen. The number which can receive attention is necessarily limited, owing to the fact that the study of a case requires much time, and if the case is to be properly treated, the home conditions must be looked into, and one or more social workers employed to follow up the case. The progress of some children has been followed for a term of years.'

"Besides the clinic, the University of Pennsylvania also maintains a hospital school for retarded children, accepting patients as in any hospital, and giving them the psychological and physical treatment necessary to overcome their intellectual defects. Similar work has been undertaken elsewhere, particularly at Clark University, where President G. Stanley Hall has organized a 'children's institute' for the scientific investigation of the development of school children; at the State University of Washington, where a psychological clinic was started last winter under the direction of Professors H. C. Stevens and E. O. Sisson; and in the city of Los Angeles, which has established a department of health and development, with a director in charge of a psychological clinic. It is an educational innovation that is destined to be widely adopted. The investigations of Professor Witmer and his assistants, as well as of other psychologists and educators, have shown that there is an amazing degree of mental retardation among the school-going population of the United States. Thus, one investigator, Dr. Oliver P. Cornman, Associate Superintendent of the Public Schools of Philadelphia, has found that in five representative American cities from 21.6 per cent to 49.6 per cent of the elementary school population are one year and more behind the grade in which their age should have placed them, that from 7.3 per cent to 26.3 per cent are two years and more behind grade, that from 2.1 per cent to 12.7 per cent are

three years and more behind grade, and that in one city as high as 5.1 per cent are four years and more behind the grade in which they ought to be.

"Not all of these backward children are susceptible of improvement, for sometimes their deficiencies represent a congenital feeblemindedness which not even the most skilful educational methods can remedy. But in the great majority of cases, as the results obtained in Professor Witmer's psychological clinic and hospital school indicate unmistakably, the trouble is due to remediable causes. The teacher may be at fault, or, as often happens, the child may be suffering from some physical trouble, in itself slight, but sufficient to affect his mental development adversely. Eye, throat, nose, ear, and dental trouble, it has been conclusively demonstrated, are frequently productive of marked intellectual deficiency.

"A typical case in point is that of a small boy who was brought to Professor Witmer's clinic last year with a lamentable history of intellectual backwardness and moral obliquity. Psychological examination satisfied Professor Witmer that the boy was neither a mental nor a moral imbecile, as had been suspected, and at first nothing abnormal was found in his physical condition. But it was later discovered that he was suffering from dental impaction, and it was deemed well to remove a few of his teeth. Remarkable improvement, both mental and moral, at once followed. The boy was closely observed, given some preliminary training, and then placed in a private school for education along lines laid down by the psychological clinic.

"'His whole demeanor under the private instruction,' says Dr. Arthur Holmes, an assistant of Professor Witmer's, who has been following the case closely, 'has been that of a normal boy. He has been put upon his honor, and in every case he has justified the expectations of his teacher. He is now a healthy boy, with a boy's natural curiosity, with good manners, good temper, with no more than the average nervousness, and with every prospect of taking his proper place in society and developing into an efficient and moral citizen.'

"In another case two boys, twins, eight years of age, were taken to the clinic for observation. One was a bright-looking lad, sturdy, and with an excellent record at school. The other was ill-nourished, had never been to school, and looked and was supposed to be feebleminded. But he responded to Professor Witmer's tests with an alertness and intelligence that proved that his mental faculties were unimpaired and only required development. He was given special training, and was also, as is always done at the clinic, subjected to a

rigid physical examination. It was then discovered that he was slightly deaf and was suffering from adenoids, the removal of which was followed by a rapid improvement in his mental condition, thus indicating that his retardation had been largely due to the adenoids.

"When the fault lies with the teaching methods employed, Professor Witmer takes in hand the instructors of the children brought to him, and explains to them what is required. In this way the psychological clinic serves another useful purpose by disseminating sound information regarding the principles of scientific pedagogy. How helpful in this respect the psychologist can be to the educator may best be appreciated by reading, for example, Professor Hugo Münsterberg's recently published and most inspiring book, Psychology and the Teacher. As Professor Münsterberg frankly admits, psychology cannot aid in determining the purpose, the ends, of education. That is a problem for ethics. But it can and does throw a flood of light on the correct methods to be adopted in attaining whatever ends the educator has in view. Already hundreds of teachers in this country and abroad have profited from the studies of the mind of the child worked out during recent years by such eminent psychologists as Professors J. Mark Baldwin, G. Stanley Hall, J. Sully, and W. Preyer, and from the experiments on memory, will, attention, etc., undertaken in every psychological laboratory. Professor Münsterberg does not overestimate the importance of psychology to the educator when he says:

"'The teacher must know what he is to teach, and must know how to teach it, and that involves his understanding the child and all the factors which come in question when the child is dealt with. Hence the true teacher needs not only an understanding of the purposes and aims of education and an enthusiastic devotion to those ideal aims, but he needs a thorough understanding of the ways in which the mind of the child can be influenced and developed. Ethics could teach him only those purposes and ideals. If the teacher seeks insight into the means by which the aim can be reached, into the facts by which the child can be molded, his way must lead from ethics to psychology.'

"For the parent as for the teacher, psychology has a message of the utmost importance. If only for the discovery of the far-reaching influence of 'suggestion' in the affairs of daily life, and of methods whereby this influence may be utilized to promote the mental and moral development of the child, every parent is heavily in the debt of modern psychology. Psychological experiment and

observation have demonstrated that every detail in one's environment—one's friends, the books one reads, the pictures one looks at, even the paper on the walls of one's house—is of suggestive value, leaving impressions upon the mind, and especially upon the plastic mind of the child, that may persist throughout, and affect the entire course of one's after life. An interesting and eloquent fragment of testimony as to this power of childhood impressions to influence later life occurs in the writings of that famous English psychical researcher Frederic Myers.

"'The first grief that I remember,' says Myers, 'came from the sight of a dead mole which had been crushed by a cart-wheel. Deeply moved, I hurried back to my mother and asked her whether the little mole had gone to heaven. Gently and lovingly, but without doubt, she told me that the little mole had no soul and would not live again.

"'To this day I remember my rush of tears at the thought of that furry, innocent creature, crushed by a danger which I fancied it too blind to see, and losing all joy forever by that unmerited stroke. The pity of it, the pity of it, and the first horror of a death without resurrection rose in my bursting heart.'

"Here the impression left was so profound as to exercise at least a contributory influence in giving rise, in after years, to an earnest desire on Myers's part to prove that there is indeed life beyond the grave, and from this desire resulted scientific discoveries of great importance, as I related in my article on The Ghost Society and What Came of It, which appeared in *The Outlook's* Magazine Number of last March.

"As to the effect of environmental impressions, even when not consciously apprehended, much evidence might similarly be quoted. Thus Dr. Louis Waldstein, an authority on the "subconscious," says:

"'The refined tastes and joyous dispositions of the children in a family with whom I often came into contact was a matter of some surprise to me, as I could not account for the common trait among them by the position or special characteristics of the parents. They were in the humblest position socially, and all but poor. My first visit to their modest home furnished me with the natural solution, and gave me much food for reflection.

"'The children—there were six—occupied two rooms into which the sunlight was pouring as I entered; the remaining rooms of the apartment were sunless for the greater part of the day; the color and design of the cheap wall-paper were cheerful and unobtrusive, bits of carpet, the table-cover, and the coverlets on the beds were all

in harmony, and of quiet design in nearly the elementary colors. Everything in these poor rooms of poor people had been chosen with the truest judgment for æsthetic effect.'

"In other words, poor though they were, the parents had contrived, through neatness, good taste, and the judicious distribution and arrangement of their belongings, to give their children a material environment rich in cultural suggestions. Of course in their case this had been done instinctively, and without any aid from psychology. On the other hand, many parents are unwittingly doing grievous injury to their children through ignorantly subjecting them to harmful environmental suggestions; while others, again, though as yet all too few, are directly profiting from the discoveries of psychology by becoming acquainted with them and giving them practical application.

"Manifestly, this is a field in which the social worker, equally with the educator and parent, can make use of the results of psychological research. It is therefore pleasant to be able to record that the social workers of the United States are awakening to their opportunity. In the psychological clinic of the University of Pennsylvania, as we have seen, the social worker labors hand in hand with the psychologist, and pays especial attention to the environmental influences surrounding the retarded children in their home life. Professor Francis Greenwood Peabody, head of the Department of Social Ethics in Harvard University, tells me that in the courses of instruction in the Harvard School for Social Workers emphasis is laid on the importance of psychology to the social worker, and the effort is made to equip the students of the school for making use of psychological facts in dealing with the difficult questions that will confront them when they enter upon their life's work. The same may be said of other institutions of this kind, and already such appreciable results have been obtained that it is safe to hazard the assertion that psychology will eventually go far towards solving the ever-present problem of the slums.

"In other directions psychology is assisting in the noble work of social amelioration. The discovery of the therapeutic value of hypnotism, hypnoidism, and of suggestion skilfully applied in the waking state has provided society with a wonderful agency not only for combating the spread of mental and nervous disease but for rescuing the victims of drug and alcoholic excesses, and of overcoming temperamental defects leading to immorality, vice, and crime."

CHAPTER XXVI

SOCIAL PREVENTIVE AGENCIES

IT is unnecessary to go into any elaborate discussion of this portion of the subject, for the reason that it will be found to be fully and adequately treated by my colleague, Professor Charles R. Henderson in another volume of this series.*

To deal with the subject adequately we should have to begin with the home, the church, the Sunday school, and the day school, but it is unnecessary to refer to them here. We need only enumerate a few of the social agencies which have been created with special reference to the needs of the neglected child, referring the reader to Dr. Henderson for the larger discussion of the subject.

SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS

The social settlement touches the life of the children of the neighborhood in two ways: first, by its influence upon the home life and the family life of its constituents. If the residents really become the neighbors and friends of the people about them, there arises an intangible influence which constantly tends toward the improvement of the home life. The parents who come in contact with the earnest and devoted people are led to realize anew their own obligation toward their own children.

Second, the social settlement exercises a preventive influence upon the children of the neighborhood through its direct contact with them in the settlement. Its boys' clubs and girls' clubs, its playground, its recreations, its industrial classes and art classes, its kindergarten, its day nursery, the personal contact of its residents and their associates, tend toward the improvement of the children with whom they come in contact. Its influence is intensified by the practical social studies of the best settlements which go deep into the causes of social ills and promote effective measures for their removal.

The social settlements furnish probation officers and Big

* Preventive Agencies and Methods.

Brothers, members of juvenile court committees, and directors of child-helping societies. The social settlements are active in the promotion of children's clinics, child study, parental schools, schools for backward, defective and crippled children. They promote special inquiries into neighborhood conditions which prevent wholesome child life.

It is true that "there are social settlements and social settlements"; but on the whole, the movement sets strongly in the direction of practical preventive agencies.

SOCIAL CENTERS, SCHOOL HOUSES, ETC.

Closely allied to the social settlements is the movement for establishing "social centers" for the wholesome gathering of children, and for the normal direction of their social activities. There is a growing disposition to utilize the school houses of the community for this purpose, out of school hours. In many communities there are individuals who make their own homes a social center for a group of boys or girls who may have a room assigned to them and may come and go at suitable times for mutual recreation and improvement.

Most of the Young Men's Christian Associations now maintain boys' departments, with trained directors, who work efficiently in the same direction. The "gang" instinct, which is a natural part of the make-up of a boy, can be utilized efficiently for his upbuilding, if it is wisely and skilfully directed.

CHILDREN'S CLUBS, PLAYGROUNDS, ETC.

Movements to develop and properly direct the recreations of children have a most important part in the community's care of its juvenile population. This need is met by the organization of boys' clubs, girls' clubs, public playgrounds, etc. The most useful boys' clubs and girls' clubs are those which deal with children in small units, as near as possible to their homes. Such are the clubs which are connected with social settlements, churches, etc. They need intelligent direction by wise leaders who know how to stimulate the independent activities of children and at the same time to keep these activities under the wholesome influence of an older person. Many of the children's clubs have failed of their purpose for lack of wisdom in their founding and direction.

There has been much debate as to the usefulness of large downtown clubs for boys, such as exist in New York and Chicago. There

appears to be a legitimate field for such clubs in the down-town districts because of the large number of young boys who are employed there, and who need some wholesome interests in their leisure hours; but it is generally agreed that such enterprises ought not to be so conducted as to entice boys away from suitable clubs nearer home, because the wholesome influence of the club is likely to be dissipated by the exposures and perils encountered going and coming.

The astonishing growth of the public playground movement is a testimonial to the natural and legitimate demand for normal recreation. The modern playground properly organized supplies the place of social center, boys' and girls' clubs and recreation, all in one. Their multiplication in numerous population centers obviates the necessity for long journeys and car-fares in order to enjoy their opportunities.

This idea is so practical and so taking that it has spread with great rapidity. The utmost caution is necessary in order to maintain a perfectly clean and wholesome atmosphere in the public playgrounds. The free association of multitudes of children and young people affords opportunity for great moral hazard, which can only be obviated, first, by the presence of a sufficient number of conscientious attendants; and, second, by the assiduous cultivation of a public sentiment for the maintenance of such an atmosphere. This requires that the people who are employed about the public playgrounds shall be selected with the utmost care and shall receive social instruction and training as to how to maintain the largest possible degree of liberty with the least possible amount of license.

CHILDREN'S LIBRARIES, ETC.

Children's reading rooms, public libraries, branch libraries, social settlements, etc., have become an important factor in promoting wholesome child life. A wise and tactful librarian comes to exercise a large influence in interesting the child in wholesome reading. The use of small circulating libraries under the care of a trained visitor has been developed in Boston and other cities, as a systematic means of reaching groups of neglected children for preventive purposes.

The use of art museums, private art collections, well selected pictures in school houses and social settlements, reproductions of choice pictures in cheap form to be lent to children for use in their own homes,—all of these belong with the libraries as an uplifting and preventive force.

SOCIETIES OF PARENTS AND CITIZENS

One of the great gaps in our social system has been the lack of organized effort to enlighten parents as to their responsibilities in the work of bringing up and training children. This work has found no place in the curriculum of the school or college. It receives far too little attention from the pulpit. Valuable text-books exist, but they are little read. Sometimes those who assume to give instruction in this line themselves lack the experience or observation which would enable them to discharge the task successfully. The writer had the honor several years ago of being invited to address the annual meeting of the National Mothers' Congress. On examining the program, it was discovered that there were thirty-two assigned papers, of which sixteen were to be given by men and five by unmarried women.

A bachelor of fifty in Massachusetts used to give edifying addresses in the weekly prayer meeting on the bringing up of children. On one occasion after setting forth his views with reference to a certain phase of family discipline, he said, "I am convinced that three-quarters of the parents in the community, or, if not three-quarters, at least five-sevenths, would do" so and so.

One of the most useful agencies for the training of parents is the mothers' club. The National Mothers' Congress has become an active agent not only in the matter of directing mothers as to the discharge of their obligations, but also to assist the great mother state in the discharge of her obligations by the promotion of juvenile court committees and public playgrounds and other agencies for the improvement of child life.

But the real thing and the important thing is the local mothers' club, where every-day women come from their every-day tasks to counsel and admonish one another with reference to the actual problems of their daily home life. Such mothers' clubs have been successfully maintained not only among the mothers of the well-to-do but also along the mothers of poor homes.

PARENTAL ASSOCIATIONS

Parental associations, composed of fathers and mothers associated with public school teachers, have become a useful agency in some communities. These associations discuss school curriculums, social life of children, study of children's homes, etc., and greatly

promote the effective co-operation of parents and teachers in the department of child life.

There have recently grown up societies known as Societies for the Promotion of Social Hygiene, etc., whose object it is to promote wise and wholesome instruction to children with reference to reproduction, the relation of the sexes, and the prevention of venereal diseases. These societies are now coming under the influence and control of the leading physicians, teachers and social students. In Boston, Dr. Charles W. Eliot is president of the society. It is clearly recognized that the time is past when prudery and false delicacy should prevent plain wholesome teaching on these subjects. Some excellent work has been done in the instruction of school children, boys and girls together, which is entirely free from immodest or unwholesome suggestion.

Unquestionably social vice, self-abuse, obscene literature, and a general degradation of the minds of children are among the most pernicious sources of juvenile delinquency. Many children have been hopelessly corrupted before their parents or teachers discovered what was going wrong. In many public and private schools the most degrading vices have been freely practiced. The superintendents of juvenile reformatories and the wardens of prisons are put to their wits' end in dealing with the victims of these vices.

These evils have their roots in ignorance, ungratified curiosity and ungoverned passions. They can only be overcome by brave, patient and persistent endeavor, which ought to enlist the co-operation of all teachers and parents.

CENSORSHIP OF AMUSEMENTS, BOOKS, ETC.

It is a common experience of juvenile court officers to discover that children have come to the juvenile court as the direct result of the pernicious influence of obscene literature, extravagantly written books of adventure, detective stories, newspaper tales of crime, and portrayals of the same sort in moving picture shows or cheap theaters. Systematic efforts are being made for the suppression of obscene books, newspapers and pictures, and an excellent work is done in the censorship of moving pictures with the co-operation and goodwill of the manufacturers; yet very little is done for the systematic censorship of sensational books, newspapers, objectionable postal cards and theaters, which are only less mischievous in their influence.

In many libraries of juvenile reformatories and orphan asylums, are to be found whole sets of books which give an absolutely false and demoralizing picture of life. The boy of fifteen, working in a grocery store for $3.00 a week, picks up the purse of the rich woman, who forthwith employs him as her private secretary at a liberal salary, and within a few months entrusts him with a commission for the sale of a valuable tract of land. He succeeds beyond her expectations and is rewarded with a commission of $4000, with which he pays off the mortgage, flouts the cruel village magnate and goes forward to a life of wealth and prosperity as the reward of virtue.

These books and others of a similar trend have an extensive reading. They are accepted by the parents, teachers and librarians because they are free from immorality, profanity and obscenity; but their influence upon the children tends to a distaste for the patient plodding by which they must attain success in life, if at all.

Much has been accomplished by volunteer committees, library boards and public school authorities who have exercised a wholesome influence in improving the public and school libraries. The success of the voluntary committee for the censorship of moving pictures indicates what may be accomplished by voluntary effort, but the whole matter is a matter of education, which must be carried on by colleges, churches, school authorities, parental associations, mothers' clubs, women's clubs, etc. It is surprising how little thought has been given to this very important subject. Recently the writer saw a large set of books of the sensational and demoralizing type which had been presented to the library of a juvenile reformatory by a lawyer who is most widely known as a leader in social reform,

THE "BIG BROTHERS' MOVEMENT"

In the city of Philadelphia the men's religious organizations and the preventive societies united, in December, 1908, in organizing the "Big Brothers' Movement" for the uplift of boys who are handicapped by their environment.

The "Big Brother" is asked to impress his personality upon the boy and to give him such time as may be convenient. He is brought into contact with the boy through the juvenile court or the Young Men's Christian Association or some child-helping society. The following suggestions are issued in printed form to those who take up this form of work:

SUGGESTIONS TO BIG BROTHERS

Call on the boy in his home. You can't enter into real sympathy with him until you know the life he lives, the air he breathes.

Get acquainted with his father and mother. The battle is half won when you have gained the confidence of the parents. By coming to know the family you can often show them how to help the boy—and you can help them, too.

See what can be done to improve the Home Conditions. The lack of real home life is generally the cause of the boy's trouble.

Do not give financial aid except in extreme cases. If such is needed communicate with Charles W. Crist, Associate Secretary, Department of Service, Central Branch The Y. M. C. A., 1421 Arch street. Bell Telephone, Spruce 5247; Keystone Telephone, Race 2490.

See the boy's Teacher. She usually has a good idea of what the boy needs.

If he is not at School or at Work the first thing to do is to get him back into School if possible. A Big Brother can do wonders in arousing a boy's ambition.

If the Family needs his Help, get him a job at some Work in good Surroundings. The Y. M. C. A. Bureaus will assist. Notify the Executive Secretary. We frequently have calls for boys.

Find out where the Boy spends his Evenings. Most of them spend them in the street. It is your business to provide a better place—more attractive—not to you—but to the boy.

Have your Physician look the Boy over or let the executive secretary refer him to one of our physicians. Adenoids and malnutrition are frequent explanations of perversity in a boy. Few boys can be expected to be moral giants when they are physically weak or sick.

Bring him around to one of the Boys' Gymnasiums. Often the chief thing a boy needs is a chance to work off his animal spirits. If he doesn't have good wholesome exercise in the "Gym" or playground, he will give vent to it in mischief on the street.

Invite him to your own Home, and make him feel that he is welcome. It will perhaps be a new revelation of "home" to him.

Invite him to call on you at your Office or place of Business. He must understand something of your life if you wish him to look on you as a brother.

Be interested in a Boy's Interests. Shooting craps may be the only real amusement he knows. Until you find what he likes about gambling you are in no position to suggest something better that will fit his case.

Take him to a Ball Game with you. There is no way of "warming up" to a boy and getting him to "warm up" to you like cheering together.

Take him to a Concert or a good clean Show, and he will begin to lose his taste for the vicious shows.

Don't patronize. You may know more about virtue, but the boy is probably a better expert on temptation.

Find out whether he attends Sunday School or Church, and take him with you to your own.

Prove your point of View. A boy who is worth while will not accept a stranger's ideas until he knows they are worth having.

Discover the Boy's Chief Interests. If he loves music or likes mechanical work, encourage his interest and find a chance for him to develop it.

Find something for him to do in which you can arouse his Interest—preferably something he can do with his hands.

Try to encourage the habit of Reading. Give or lend him a magazine. Spend an evening in his home and carry along a good boy's story to read with him. If he is working get him into night school or a Y. M. C. A. Educational class.

Get him to assume some Responsibility, and realize his duty to help others, *e. g.*, help a blind man across a street, observe little habits of politeness.

Get him to write you once in a while, and always answer him promptly.

Above all remember that you are a Big Brother, that you were once a Boy, and be patient. Your boy is not yet a man; it's your task to make him one.

Just one thing more. On being assigned a boy, please note the request for the return of the attached slip. You may think it of slight importance, but it really means a great deal that we should know promptly that the boy will be taken care of. As soon as you have looked up the boy, kindly fill out the report card and send it to us. From time to time we shall send you letters and enclose other cards for later reports. Experience has shown that a careful filing of these cards is of great assistance to the Movement.

Do it now. Now is the critical time when the boy needs help.

If you believe that a boy in the open is better than a boy in jail, you are in sympathy with the Big Brothers. If you believe that a boy unaided cannot always overcome the tendency of unfortunate environment, or be happy and good without any of the things that make for happiness and goodness, you concur in the Big Brother Platform. If you are willing to do something yourself to help a boy you may at once become a Big Brother, and we can supply the very boy who needs you to brother him a little, to give him some fun, to show him how to be manly, to take some of life's handicap off his underfed body and undeveloped mind.

Similar work has been undertaken in other cities, especially in the City of Chicago, where it has been largely organized and inspired by Miss Minnie Low of the United Hebrew Charities, and in Milwaukee under the leadership of Mr. Bert Hall.

CHAPTER XXVII

CONCLUSIONS OF THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

A CONFERENCE on the Care of Dependent Children was held in the city of Washington, January 25 and 26, 1909. Delegates were invited from every state of the Union, representing every form of child-helping work and every shade of religious opinion. The conclusions were adopted, after a free discussion, by a unanimous rising vote. They represent the consensus of opinion of the leaders in child-helping work in the United States.

The author of this volume had the honor to be a member of the committee which formulated the Conclusions of the White House Conference, and they form a fitting conclusion to this volume on Preventive Treatment of Neglected Children.

LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES EMBODYING THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE ON THE CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Hon. THEODORE ROOSEVELT,
President of the United States

SIR: Having been invited by you to participate in a conference on the care of dependent children, held at Washington, D. C., January 25–26, 1909, and having considered at the sessions of such conference the various phases of the subject as stated in the memorandum accompanying your letter of invitation, and such others as have been brought before us by the executive committee, we desire to express the very great satisfaction felt by each member of this conference in the deep interest you have taken in the well-being of dependent children. The proper care of destitute children has indeed an important bearing upon the welfare of the nation. We now know so little about them as not even to know their number, but we know that there are in institutions about 93,000, and that many additional thousands are in foster or boarding homes. As a step, therefore, in the conserva-

tion of the productive capacity of the people and the preservation of high standards of citizenship, and also because each of these children is entitled to receive humane treatment, adequate care, and proper education, your action in calling this conference, and your participation in its opening and closing sessions, will have, we believe, a profound effect upon the well-being of many thousands of children and upon the nation as a whole.

Concerning the particular objects to which you called attention in the invitation to this conference, and the additional subjects brought before us by the executive committee, our conclusions are as follows:

HOME CARE

1. Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. It is the great molding force of mind and of character. Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons. Children of parents of worthy character, suffering from temporary misfortune, and children of reasonably efficient and deserving mothers who are without the support of the normal breadwinner, should as a rule be kept with their parents, such aid being given as may be necessary to maintain suitable homes for the rearing of the children. This aid should be given by such methods and from such sources as may be determined by the general relief policy of each community, preferably in the form of private charity rather than of public relief. Except in unusual circumstances, the home should not be broken up for reasons of poverty, but only for considerations of inefficiency or immorality.

PREVENTIVE WORK

2. The most important and valuable philanthropic work is not the curative, but the preventive; to check dependency by a thorough study of its causes and by effectively remedying or eradicating them should be the constant aim of society. Along these lines we urge upon all friends of children the promotion of effective measures, including legislation, to prevent blindness, to check tuberculosis and other diseases in dwellings and work places and injuries in hazardous occupations, to secure compensation or insurance so as to provide a family income in case of sickness, accident, death, or invalidism of the breadwinner; to promote child-labor reforms, and generally to improve the conditions

surrounding child life. To secure these ends we urge efficient co-operation with all other agencies for social betterment.

HOME FINDING

3. As to the children who for sufficient reasons must be removed from their own homes, or who have no homes, it is desirable that, if normal in mind and body and not requiring special training, they should be cared for in families whenever practicable. The carefully selected foster home is for the normal child the best substitute for the natural home. Such homes should be selected by a most careful process of investigation, carried on by skilled agents through personal investigation and with due regard to the religious faith of the child. After children are placed in homes, adequate visitation, with careful consideration of the physical, mental, moral, and spiritual training and development of each child on the part of the responsible home-finding agency, is essential.

It is recognized that for many children foster homes without payment for board are not practicable immediately after the children become dependent, and that for children requiring temporary care only the free home is not available. For the temporary, or more or less permanent, care of such children different methods are in use, notably the plan of placing them in families, paying for their board, and the plan of institutional care. Contact with family life is preferable for these chlidren, as well as for other normal children. It is necessary, however, that a large number of carefully selected boarding homes be found if these children are to be cared for in families. The extent to which such families can be found should be ascertained by careful inquiry and experiment in each locality. Unless and until such homes are found, the use of institutions is necessary.

COTTAGE SYSTEM

4. So far as it may be found necessary temporarily or permanently to care for certain classes of children in institutions, these institutions should be conducted on the cottage plan, in order that routine and impersonal care may not unduly suppress individuality and initiative. The cottage unit should not be larger than will permit effective personal relations between the adult caretaker or caretakers of each cottage and each child therein. Twenty-five is suggested as a desirable cottage unit, subject

to revision in the light of further experience in the management of cottage institutions. The cottage plan is probably somewhat more expensive, both in construction and in maintenance, than the congregate system. It is so, however, only because it secures for the children a larger degree of association with adults and a nearer approach to the conditions of family life which are required for the proper molding of childhood. These results more than justify the increased outlay, and are truly economical. Child-caring agencies, whether supported by public or private funds, should by all legitimate means press for adequate financial support. Inferior methods should never be accepted by reason of lack of funds without continuing protest. Cheap care of children is ultimately enormously expensive, and is unworthy of a strong community. Existing congregate institutions should so classify their inmates and segregate them into groups as to secure as many of the benefits of the cottage system as possible, and should look forward to the adoption of the cottage type when new buildings are constructed.

The sending of children of any age or class to almshouses is an unqualified evil, and should be forbidden everywhere by law with suitable penalty for its violation.

INCORPORATION

5. To engage in the work of caring for needy children is to assume a most serious responsibility, and should, therefore, be permitted only to those who are definitely organized for the purpose, who are of suitable character, and possess, or have reasonable assurance of securing, the funds needed for their support. The only practicable plan of securing this end is to require the approval by a state board of charities, or other body exercising similar powers, of the incorporation of all child-caring agencies, including the approval of any amendments of the charter of a benevolent corporation, if it is to include child-caring work; and by forbidding other than duly incorporated agencies to engage in the care of needy children.

STATE INSPECTION

6. The proper training of destitute children being essential to the well-being of the state, it is a sound public policy that the state through its duly authorized representatives should inspect the work of all agencies which care for dependent children, whether

by institutional or by home-finding methods, and whether supported by public or private funds. Such inspection should be made by trained agents, should be thorough, and the results thereof should be reported to the responsible authorities of the institution or agency concerned. The information so secured should be confidential—not to be disclosed except by competent authority.

INSPECTION OF EDUCATIONAL WORK

7. Destitute children at best labor under many disadvantages, and are deprived in greater or less degree of the assistance and guidance which parents afford their own children. It is important, therefore, that such children be given an education which will fit them for self-support and for the duties of citizenship, and the state should provide therefor. In order that this education may be equal to that afforded by the schools attended by the other children of the community, it is desirable that the education of children in orphan asylums and other similar institutions or placed in families should be under the supervision of the educational authorities of the state.

FACTS AND RECORDS

8. The proper care of a child in the custody of a child-caring agency, as well as the wise decision as to the period of his retention and ultimate disposition to be made of him, involve a knowledge of the character and circumstances of his parents, or surviving parent, and near relatives, both before and at the time the child becomes dependent and subsequently. One unfortunate feature of child-caring work hitherto is the scanty information available as to the actual careers of children who have been reared under the care of charitable agencies. This applies both to institutions, which too frequently lose sight of the children soon after they leave their doors, and home-finding agencies, which too frequently have failed to exercise supervision adequate to enable them to judge of the real results of their work. It is extremely desirable that, taking all precautions to prevent injury or embarrassment to those who have been the subjects of charitable care, the agencies which have been responsible for the care of children should know to what station in life they attain, and what sort of citizens they become. Only in this manner can they form a correct judgment of the results of their efforts.

We believe, therefore, that every child-caring agency should—

(a) Secure full information concerning the character and circumstances of the parents and near relatives of each child in whose behalf application is made, through personal investigation by its own representative, unless adequate information is supplied by some other reliable agency.

(b) Inform itself by personal investigation at least once each year of the circumstances of the parents of children in its charge, unless the parents have been legally deprived of guardianship, and unless this information is supplied by some other responsible agency.

(c) Exercise supervision over children under their care until such children are legally adopted, are returned to their parents, attain their majority, or are clearly beyond the need of further supervision.

(d) Make a permanent record of all information thus secured.

PHYSICAL CARE

9. The physical condition of children who become the subjects of charitable care has received inadequate consideration. Each child received into the care of such an agency should be carefully examined by a competent physician, especially for the purpose of ascertaining whether such peculiarities, if any, as the child presents may be due to any defect of the sense organs, or to other physical defect. Both institutions and placing-out agencies should take every precaution to secure proper medical and surgical care of their children and should see that suitable instruction is given them in matters of health and hygiene.

CO-OPERATION

10. Great benefit can be derived from a close co-operation between the various child-caring agencies, institutional and otherwise, in each locality. It is especially desirable that harmonious relations be established in regard to the classes of children to be received by each agency; the relations of such agencies to the parents of children received; and the subsequent oversight of children passing from the custody of child-caring agencies. The establishment of a joint bureau of investigation and information by all the child-caring agencies of each locality is highly commended, in the absence of any other suitable central agency through which they may all co-operate.

UNDESIRABLE LEGISLATION

11. We greatly deprecate the tendency of legislation in some states to place unnecessary obstacles in the way of placing children in family homes in such states by agencies whose headquarters are elsewhere, in view of the fact that we favor the care of destitute children, normal in mind and body, in families, whenever practicable.

We recognize the right of each state to protect itself from vicious, diseased, or defective children from other states, by the enactment of reasonable protective legislation; but experience proves that the reception of healthy, normal children is not only an act of philanthropy, but also secures a valuable increment to the population of the community and an ultimate increase of its wealth.

The people of the more prosperous and less congested districts owe a debt of hospitality to the older communities from which many of them came.

We earnestly protest, therefore, against such legislation as is prohibitive in form or in effect, and urge that where it exists, it be repealed.

PERMANENT ORGANIZATION

12. The care of dependent children is a subject about which nearly every session of the legislature of every state in the Union concerns itself; it is a work in which state and local authorities in many states are engaged, and in which private agencies are active in every state; important decisions are being made constantly by associations, institutions, and public authorities, affecting questions of policy, the type of buildings to be constructed, the establishment of an adequate system of investigating homes and visiting children placed in homes, and scores of important matters affecting the well-being of needy children. Each of these decisions should be made with full knowledge of the experience of other states and agencies, and of the trend of opinion among those most actively engaged in the care of children and able to speak from wide experience and careful observation. One effective means of securing this result would be the establishment of a permanent organization to undertake, in this field, work comparable to that carried on by the National Playground Association, the National Association for the Study and Prevention of

Tuberculosis, the National Child Labor Committee, and other similar organizations in their respective fields. It is our judgment that the establishment of such a permanent voluntary organization, under auspices which would insure a careful consideration of all points of view, broad-mindedness and tolerance, would be desirable and helpful, if reasonably assured of adequate financial support.

FEDERAL CHILDREN'S BUREAU

13. A bill is pending in Congress for the establishment of a federal children's bureau to collect and disseminate information affecting the welfare of children. In our judgment, the establishment of such a bureau is desirable, and we earnestly recommend the enactment of the pending measure.

SUMMARY

14. The preceding suggestions may be almost completely summarized in this—that the particular condition and needs of each destitute child should be carefully studied and that he should receive that care and treatment which his individual needs require, and which should be as nearly as possible like the life of the other children of the community.

15. We respectfully recommend that you send to Congress a message urging favorable action upon the bill for a federal children's bureau and the enactment of such legislation as will bring the laws and the public administration of the District of Columbia and other federal territory into harmony with the principles and conclusions herein stated, and we further recommend that you cause to be transmitted to the governor of each state of the Union a copy of the proceedings of this conference for the information of the state board of charities or other body exercising similar powers.

By order of the conference:

Yours, very respectfully,

HASTINGS H. HART,
EDMOND J. BUTLER,
JULIAN W. MACK,
HOMER FOLKS,
JAMES E. WEST,
Committee on Resolutions.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

THE ROCHESTER JUVENILE COURT LAW COVERING MONROE COUNTY IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK. ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF 1910

THE following act, enacted by the New York Legislature of 1910, applies to the County of Monroe and the city of Rochester.

The act was drawn by leading jurists of Monroe County with the assistance of Bernard Flexner, Esq., of Louisville, Ky.

It is believed that this act, which is the latest juvenile court law enacted, embodies the best features of the various juvenile court laws, and it is hoped that it may prove to be a model for the smaller cities of the state of New York, and also for other states.

AN ACT *conferring jurisdiction upon the county court of Monroe county to adjudicate upon all cases of children in Monroe county under sixteen years of age, who are delinquent, neglected or otherwise subject to the discipline or in need of the care and protection of the state; and regulating the procedure in such cases, including the establishment of a detention home, a probation system and the appointment of guardians for such children.*

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. The county court of Monroe county shall have original and exclusive jurisdiction of all cases coming within the terms and provisions of this act. This act shall be construed liberally and as remedial in character; and the powers hereby conferred are intended to be general to effect the beneficial purposes herein set forth.

§ 2. This act shall apply to any child less than sixteen years of age residing or being at the time in Monroe county,

A. Who violates any penal law or any municipal ordinance, or who commits any act or offense for which he could be prosecuted in a method partaking of the nature of a criminal action or proceeding (except a crime punishable by death or life imprisonment), or

B. Who engages in any occupation, calling or exhibition or is found in any place for permitting which an adult may be punished by law, or who so deports himself or is in such condition or surroundings or under such improper or insufficient guardianship or control, as to endanger the morals, health or general welfare of said child.

§ 3. Any person having knowledge or information that a child residing in or actually within the county is within the provisions of the preceding section may file

with said county court a verified petition stating the facts that bring such child within said provisions. The petition may be upon information and belief. The title of the proceeding shall be, "County Court, County of Monroe. In the Matter of (Inserting Name), a Child under Sixteen Years of Age." The petition shall set forth the name and residence of the child and of the parents, if known to the petitioner, and the name and residence of the person having the guardianship, custody, control and supervision of such child, if the same be known or ascertained by the petitioner, or the petition shall state that they are unknown, if that be the fact.

§ 4. Upon filing the petition, the court or a judge thereof may forthwith, or after first causing an investigation to be made by a probation officer or other person, cause a summons to be issued signed by one of the judges or the special clerk of said court, requiring the child to appear before the court and the parents, or the guardian, or the person having the custody, control or supervision of the child, or the person with whom the child may be, to appear with the child, at a place and time stated in the summons, to show cause why the child should not be dealt with according to the provisions of this act.

§ 5. If it appears from the petition that the child is embraced within subdivision A of section two, or is in such condition that the welfare of the child requires that its custody be immediately assumed, the court may indorse upon the summons a direction that the officer serving the same shall at once take said child into his custody; in the meantime such child may be admitted to bail or released in the custody of a probation officer or other person by one of the judges of said court, the special clerk or the chief probation officer; but when not so released, the child shall be detained pending the hearing of the case in the shelter hereinafter provided for; and in no case arising under this act shall any child be placed in a jail, common lock-up or other place where adult criminals are confined.

§ 6. Service of summons within the county of Monroe shall be made personally by delivering to and leaving with the person summoned a true copy thereof. If it shall be made to appear, by affidavit, that reasonable but unsuccessful effort has been made to serve the summons personally upon the parties named therein, other than said child, the court or any judge thereof at any stage of the proceedings may make an order for substituted service of the summons or of a supplemental summons in the manner provided for substituted service of civil process in courts of record, and if such parties are without said county, service may be made by mail, by publication or personally without the county in such manner and at such time before the hearing as in said order directed. It shall be sufficient to confer jurisdiction if service is effected at any time before the time fixed in the summons for the return thereof, but the court, if requested, shall not proceed with the hearing earlier than the third day after the date of the service. Proof of service shall be made substantially as in courts of record. Failure to serve summons upon any person other than said child shall not impair the jurisdiction of the court to proceed in cases arising under subdivision A of section two, provided that, for good cause shown, the court make an order dispensing with such service. The summons shall be considered a mandate of the court, and wilful failure to obey its requirements shall subject any person guilty thereof to liability for punishment as for a criminal contempt. At any stage of the case, the court may, in its discretion, appoint an attorney or other suitable person to be the guardian ad litem of the said child for the purposes of the proceeding, and the court may call upon the district attorney of said county to attend to assist the court in any proceeding under this act; and the sheriff of said county shall serve or cause to be served all papers which

are directed by the court to be served by him, and a suitable allowance shall be made by the board of supervisors for his actual disbursements in effecting such service; but all papers may be served by any person delegated by the court for that purpose. The expense incurred in making substituted service or service by publication or personally without the county shall be a county charge.

§ 7. Upon the return of the summons, or at the time set for the hearing, the court shall proceed to hear and determine the case. The court may conduct the examination of the witnesses without the assistance of counsel, and may take testimony and inquire into the habits, surroundings, condition and tendencies of said child, to enable the court to render such order or judgment as shall best conserve the welfare of said child and carry out the objects of this act; and the court, if satisfied that the child is in need of the care or discipline and protection of the state, may so adjudicate, and may in addition find said child to be delinquent or neglected, or in need of more suitable guardianship, as the case may be; and in addition to the powers granted by this act, may render such judgment and make such order or commitment, according to the circumstances of the case, as any court or magistrate is now or may hereafter be authorized by law to render or make in any of the cases coming within section two of this act. It is the intention of this act that in all proceedings coming under its provisions the court shall proceed upon the theory that said child is the ward of the state, and is subject to the discipline and entitled to the protection which the court should give such child under the conditions disclosed in the case; and when once jurisdiction has been obtained in the case of any such child, it shall continue for the purposes of this act during the minority of said child. The court shall have power, upon the hearing of any case involving any child, to exclude the general public from the room wherein said hearing is held, admitting thereto only such persons as may have a direct interest in the case; and the records of all cases may be withheld from indiscriminate public inspection in the discretion of the court; but such records shall be open to inspection of such child, his parents or guardians, or his attorneys, at all times. The hearings may be conducted in the judge's chambers or in such other room or apartment as the supervisors may provide for such cases; and as far as practicable such cases shall not be heard in conjunction with the other business of the court. No adjudication under the provisions of this act shall operate as a disqualification of the child for any office under any state or municipal civil service; and such child shall not be denominated a criminal by reason of any such adjudication; nor shall such adjudication be denominated a conviction.

§ 8. Nothing in this act contained shall be construed as forbidding the arrest, with or without warrant, of any child as now or hereafter may be provided by law, or as forbidding the issuing of warrants by magistrates, as provided by law; whenever a child less than sixteen years of age is brought before a magistrate in said county, such magistrate shall transfer the case to the county court by an order directing that said child be taken forthwith to the shelter; such magistrates may, however, by order admit such child to bail, or release said child in the custody of some suitable person as now provided by law, to appear before said court at a time designated in the said order. All informations, depositions, warrants and other process in the hands of such magistrate shall be forthwith transmitted to the county court, and shall become part of its records; the county court shall thereupon proceed to hear and dispose of such case in the same manner as if the proceeding had been instituted in said county court upon petition, as hereinbefore provided. In all cases the nature of the proceeding shall be explained to said child, and if they appear, to the parents, custodian or guardian;

and intermediate the arrest of such child with or without warrant, and the appearance of said child before the county court, if not paroled or otherwise released, he shall be detained in the shelter where he shall be received and cared for subject to the order of the court or one of the judges thereof.

§ 9. An appeal may be taken from any final order or judgment of said court to the appellate division of the supreme court within sixty days after the entry of said order, and if any such appeal is taken by the guardian ad litem appointed for said child by said court, said court may, in its discretion, grant an order auditing and allowing the actual disbursements of said guardian ad litem in printing his papers on appeal; whereupon said disbursements shall become a claim against the county of Monroe, to be paid as a county charge.

§ 10. The county judge may arrange with any incorporated society or association maintaining a shelter or suitable place of detention for children in said county for the use thereof as a shelter or temporary detention home for children coming within the provisions of this act, and may enter an order which shall be effectual for that purpose; and a reasonable sum shall be appropriated by the board of supervisors for the expenses incurred by said society or association for the care of such children. If, however, the county judge shall certify that a suitable arrangement for such use cannot be made, or continued, the board of supervisors shall establish, equip and maintain a home for the temporary detention of such children separated entirely from any place of confinement of adults, to be called "the county shelter," which shall be conducted as an agency of the county court for the purposes of this act and, so far as possible, shall be furnished and carried on as a family home and shall be in charge of a superintendent and a matron who shall reside therein. The county judge shall have authority to appoint said superintendent, matron and the other employees of said county shelter in the same manner in which probation officers are appointed under this act, their salaries to be fixed and paid in the same manner as the salaries of probation officers. The county judge may appoint as such superintendent or matron one of the probation officers, with or without additional salary. The necessary expenses incurred in maintaining said county shelter shall be paid by the county.

§ 11. The county judge may appoint a special clerk to keep the records and act as clerk of the court in cases under this act, and a chief probation officer, whose duty it shall be to act under the direction of said court in the cases arising under this act; and said clerk and said chief probation officer shall be paid such reasonable compensation as the board of supervisors may determine, as a county charge. If the county judge finds it compatible with the public interest, he may name a probation officer or other person in the county service to act as the clerk. The county judge may also, if found necessary for the adequate care and protection of the children under the jurisdiction of the court, appoint one or more additional probation officers, to be paid such compensation as the board of supervisors may provide; and in addition thereto may appoint voluntary probation officers to serve without compensation from the county treasury and under such conditions as the judge may determine to be conducive to the successful operation of this act; and with respect to such salaried or voluntary probation officers, and the administration of said shelter, the court may devise such rules of procedure and method as in the judgment of the court will conduce to the beneficial purposes of this act; and said judge may at pleasure remove said officers; said salaried probation officers shall have all the powers of peace officers anywhere in the state for the purpose of this act; and the court is authorized to seek the co-operation of all societies or organizations, public or private, having for their

object the protection or aid of indigent or neglected children, to the end that the court may be assisted in every reasonable way to give to all of such children the care, protection and assistance which will conserve the welfare of such children. And it is hereby made the duty of every county, town or municipal official or department, in said county, to render such assistance and co-operation within his or its jurisdictional power to further the objects of this act; and all institutions, associations or other custodial agencies in which any child may be, coming within the provisions of this act are hereby required to give such information to the court or any of said officers appointed by it as said court or officers may require for the purposes of this act.

§ 12. All provisions of law applicable to probation of children brought before any court or magistrate are made applicable to cases coming within the provisions of this act, except that the period of probation may be extended by the court during the minority of said child; and the time and places for the appearance of said child during said probationary period shall be entirely within the discretion of the court; and during said probationary period and during the time when said child may be committed to any institution or to the care of any association or person for custodial or disciplinary purposes, said child shall always be subject to the friendly visitation of such probation officers or other agents of the court as may be appointed for that purpose; and any final order or judgment made by the court in the case of any such child shall be subject to such modifications from time to time as the court may consider to be for the welfare of said child; and no commitment of any child to any institution or other custodial agency shall deprive the court of the jurisdiction to change the form of the commitment or transfer the custody of said child to some other institution or agency on such conditions as the court may see fit to impose, the duty being constant upon the court to give to all children subject to its jurisdiction such oversight and control in the premises as will conduce to the welfare of said child and the best interests of the state.

§ 13. Whenever any child is found to be in such condition, surroundings or under such improper or insufficient guardianship as to lead the court, in its discretion, to take the custody of said child away from its parents and place it in some institution or under some other custodial agency, the court may, after issuing and service of an order to show cause upon the parents or other person having the duty under the law to support said child, adjudge that the expense of caring for said child by said custodial agency or institution as fixed by the court shall be paid by the person or persons bound by law to support said child; in which event such person or persons shall be liable to pay to such custodial agency or institution and in such manner as the court may direct the money so adjudged to be payable by him or them; and willful failure to pay said sum may be punished as a contempt of court and the order of the court for the payment of said money may be also enforced as money judgments of courts of record are enforced.

§ 14. Whenever a child within the jurisdiction of said court and under the provisions of this act appears to the court to be in need of medical care, a suitable order may be made for the treatment of such child in a hospital, and the expense thereof shall be a county charge; and the county may recover the said expense in a suitable action from the person or persons liable for the furnishing of necessaries for said child; and for that purpose the court may cause any such child to be examined by any health officer within the jurisdiction of the court, or by any duly licensed physician.

§ 15. Whenever it shall appear to the court, in the case of any neglected child or of any child in need of more suitable guardianship that has been taken from its home or the custody of its parents, that conditions have so changed that it is consistent

with the public good and the welfare of said child that the parents again have the custody of said child, the court may make a suitable order in the premises. In committing any child to any custodial agency or placing it under any guardianship other than that of its natural guardians, the court shall, as far as practicable, select as the custodial agency some individual holding the same religious belief as the parents of said child, or some institution or association governed by persons of like religious faith, unless said institution is a state or municipal institution.

§ 16. Whenever, in the course of a proceeding instituted under this act, it shall appear to the said court that the welfare of said child will be promoted by the appointment of an individual as general guardian of his property, and of his person, when such child is not committed to any institution or to the custody of any incorporated society, the court shall have jurisdiction to make such appointment either upon the application of the child or some relative or friend, or upon the court's own motion; and in that event an order to show cause may be made by the court, to be served upon the parent or parents of said child in such manner and for such time prior to the hearing as the court may deem reasonable. In any case arising under this act, the court may determine as between parents whether the father or mother shall have the custody, tuition and direction of said child.

§ 17. Nothing herein contained shall be construed as abridging the general chancery power and jurisdiction exercised by the supreme court over the persons and estates of minors, nor as abridging the authority of the surrogate to appoint guardians for infants as now provided by law.

§ 18. It shall be the duty of the county judge of said county, at least once a year, to visit each institution in which there shall be at the time any child under commitment pursuant to this act, and the managers and officers of said institution shall accord to said judge full opportunity to inspect the said institution in all its departments, to the end that the court may be advised as to the propriety of continuing the use of said institution as a custodial agency; and said judge may examine witnesses under oath within the county where said institution is located, or appoint a referee for the purpose of obtaining any information as to the efficiency and character of such institution.

§ 19. The court shall have power to devise and publish rules and regulate the procedure for cases coming within the provisions of this act, and for the conduct of all probation and other officers of the court in such cases, and such rules shall be enforced and construed beneficially for the remedial purposes embraced herein. The court may devise and cause to be printed for public use such forms for records and for the various petitions, orders, process and other papers in the cases coming under this act as shall meet the requirements thereof; and all the expenses incurred by the court in complying with the provisions of this act shall be a county charge.

§ 20. All provisions of the penal law or code of criminal procedure or other statute inconsistent with or repugnant to this act shall be considered inapplicable to the cases arising under this act.

§ 21. This act shall take effect January first, nineteen hundred and eleven.

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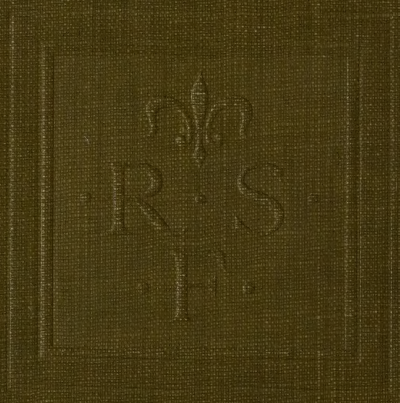
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